

IMAGES OF '99

PETER C. NEWMAN  
ON THE AMERICAN  
TAKEOVER  
RINGING IN THE  
MILLENNIUM

December 20, 1999

# Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

# The Vanishing Border

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From the

# Editor

## A very special breed of Canadians

**Nobody needed** a poll to know that Ricky Wong was happy. Dapper in a handsome black suit, the 28-year-old beamed and bugged his way around a gleaming fund-raising banquet for the Special Olympics last week in Toronto. And why not? Wong, who competes in softball, floor hockey, swimming and tenpin bowling, had spent the evening hanging with the likes of soccer star Brian McBride and Jean Beliveau, the classic act to share in the real shrine of hockey. The galaxy of stars had donated their time to attend the 17th annual Sports Celebrity Festival for the Special Olympics, one of 10 events that have raised \$1.4 million for participants this year. "This," said Wong, who has the legendary jockey Sandy Hawley at the Maclean's table, "is the happiest night of my life." Another attendee asked Los Angeles Dodger Shawn Green who he was and what sport he played. When the former Blue Jays outfielder said his sport was baseball, she replied, "Mine too."

Such unaffected friendliness is a hallmark of a very special breed of Canadians. The word handicapped is a misnomer. Ostracized and excluded from the main stream, these special persons inspire with the ease of their participation, their unequalled affection and their burning commitment to their goal.

It is a good thing to spend time with the Rick Wongs of the world. They remind us of basic values, such as

extending a hand to those who need support and not getting one carried away with our own vice versa.

**A different sort of** comment comes from the annual Maclean's poll, again this year a partnership with *The Magazine* on CBC-TV and the thoughtful folks at The Strategic Council. After 16 years of surveys, pollster Alan Gregg and his colleagues have presented one of the most comprehensive discussions of the shifting mind of the nation

of the gap, Canadian women are clearly striking an independent course on such issues as free trade (more negative than men), social policy (more concerned) and the Canadian identity (more committed to saving it). Canadian women are more concerned nationalists than their male counterparts, who are more ready to embrace U.S. values.

**The task of overseeing** this year's poll project were its Associate Managing Editor Robert Marshall. He worked closely with Gaille Sabatier, associate art director, whose inspired design makes for a lively 25-page package.

Art Director Nick Burnett and Senior Editor Berrie Woodward, meanwhile, turned up to produce the engaging 20-page Images 94, a portrait in words and pictures of the year that was. The two reports, as well as the regular sections, were a superb team effort by the hard-working Toronto staff and bureau members from Vancouver, Halifax and Washington, Ottawa, Eddee Bruce Wallace wrote the industry year-in review essay and a major piece for the poll package—then Friday turned to the breaking news on the government's referendum strategy. At Maclean's, the upcoming holiday break will be a welcome respite. Not that anyone is complaining, Ricky.

available to the general public. His study of the trends since 1984 indicates that Canadians have come full circle to the confident, optimistic outlook they showed in the first poll. At the same time, there is a sense that we are becoming more like Americans and that, while we insist on the existence of a Canadian identity, we have trouble defining it.

One of the fascinating revelations in this year's survey is the depth of the gender gap in Canada. While the trends in the United States indicate a narrowing

*Robert Lewis*



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# The Mail

## Infertility

I enjoyed reading the hopeful news for people who are unable to have desperately wanted children ("Making babies," Cover, Dec. 6). Can you imagine the joy of spine-injured men who are now finding medical help in becoming fathers? One couple I know have their long-waited-for child, as has—ours, as it turned out. The parents are coping well, enjoying every moment of precious family life together, seldom thinking of the long tortuous route that was necessary to achieve this miracle.

**Marty Staats**, Thornhill, Ont.

As I read your article on reproductive technology, the following question occurred to me: why couldn't these infertile couples adopt a child? The child would be given a new lease on life, and the parents would have a child. It seems to me that this solution would reduce, if not eliminate, the need for unethical medical research.

**Tupper Matthews**, York, B.C.

Thank you for the thought cover story. I would like to respond to Ottawa fertility specialist Dr. Art Lester's comment that "there is nobody in Health Canada who has my expertise with



these technologies, and they are not asking for advice." I have found quite the opposite to be true. I met several infertility specialists who have a great deal of knowledge and experience with these issues, who have taken the time to consult with individuals and groups about their experiences

and concerns; who have attended public conferences and seminars (as well as organized them), and who have been open to learning real points of view. As well as studying in-depth Canada's own royal commission recommendations, they have also consulted extensively with experts from other countries and examined systems in other parts of the world. Still, our government officials have a very complex task ahead of them. It's time for everyone involved to stand behind them and work co-operatively together to create a system that is fairly balanced among the medical profession, the people and the government. Most important, they must support a system whose priority is helping the new families created through new technologies.

**Shirley Pashay**, New Reproductive Alternatives Society, Vancouver, B.C.

The depth of personal pain from infertility goes beyond words. Add to that the complexity of new and existing reproductive technologies and you have a recipe for a wishful-thinking serving of many debatable mixes. If laws and regulations are so important for these treatments, why then is infertility not a worry-dropping medical problem for provincial health-care coverage?

**Janice Epperson**, Executive Director, Infertility Awareness Association of Canada Inc., Ottawa

## Human suffering

I am deeply saddened by the situation in Chechnya, where thousands suffer because of the choices of a few ("The train to nowhere," World, Dec. 6). Why is the world so silent at this time? Is it because Chechnya, unlike Kosovo, has no oil? Or is it because there is no danger of economic instability in the surrounding region, as was the case with Kosovo? While I am sure the situation is not easy to understand or address, surely the human suffering should cause us to respond. Although the United Nations assures us that Canada is the best place in the world, this does not give us the right to ignore those less fortunate. Where is the compassion? Why are we silent?

**Rines Janssen**, Grande Prairie, Alta.

## Ramsay: resign!

Singlehandedly, Jack Ramsay has caused not one, but two Canadian towns that are held in the highest of esteem—a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer and a federal member of Parliament. How can he be back, fail to resign his seat and still feel at the public enough? He has been convicted by a jury of peer Canadians of attempted rape of a 14-year-old native girl ("Run sign the story of a Mississauga," Canada Notes, Dec. 6). Does he understand that? Is that not enough for all Canadians never to hear of him again?

**Paul D. Mylne**, Toronto

## The unity issue

**Prime Minister** Jean Chretien's recent decision to take the unity debate back to centre stage ("The scupper's flight," Canada, Dec. 6) has both positives and pluses. On the minus side, the perennial down-the-line pundits will insist his close to rack the bear. They will wish he remained silent and, if they are federalists, hope the debate will be won by default or by the separation shooting themselves in the foot. On the plus side, you have the decisiveness of a person

## How far would you go to become someone else.

**MATT DAMON**  
**Gwyneth Paltrow**  
**Jude Law**

**THE TALENTED MR. RIPLEY**

**CATE BLANCHETT**

FROM ANTHONY MINGELLA, THE SCREENWRITER AND ACADEMY AWARD® WINNING DIRECTOR OF "THE ENGLISH PATIENT"

IN SELECTED THEATRES DECEMBER 12

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**DECEMBER**

now willing to tackle this debate head-on and to talk back to the separationists in a manner they have not been used to recently. The separationists insist on moralization and demon and must be addressed from a logical front and also from an emotional front, in a manner so well presented by the Parti Québécois. In Québec, Canada has a person who is a Quebecer and a staunch federalist, a combination best suited to the unity cause. His stance should be supported by all of us who wish to see this debate come to a finality with the ultimate removal of the prevailing uncertainty, once and for all.

André Séguin, Rocheblave, Que.

**So Jesus Christ** considers his offer to write the question for the new Quebec referendum just that he was a fundamentalist. I beg to differ. A fundamentalist might say: "You are not breaking up my country, Period." A fundamentalist might suggest that any individual who does not desire to be Canadian simply ceases to be. This is absurdly simpleminded. A moderate might argue that the country can be divided by referendum, but only if each Canadian has a vote. Only a separation or a fool would conceive any other pronouncement than the unaffordable right to decide.

David Lovell, Victoria, B.C.

## Jesus and churches

The cover story "Jesus at 2000" (Nov. 29) highlights the diversity of the Christian church in Canada. Unfortunately, the church has not always respected its own diversity. That is why the country-wide bell-ringing at noon local time on New Year's Day, to which you refer at the beginning of your article, is significant. It is a project of Together 2000, a historic five-year effort of the Canadian Council of Churches and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, two groups that have not always cooperated with each other, but who together represent most Christians in Canada. Churches without bells are planning other kinds of joyful noise, including Aboriginal drumming across coast to coast and north to the Arctic Circle, music by the inter-

city poor in Toronto, and thousands of others. Bells are a traditional call to prayer, and in a world where divisions so often lead to bloodshed, those bells will signal a moment of peace, solidarity and goodwill within Canada's largest religious community.

Gordon Whitney-Brown, Co-director, Together 2000, Toronto

Your article ignores the fact that many Canadians (especially young Canadians) and understand that if God is an malevolent and that religion is an assault to human dignity. With or without it, good people will do good things and evil people will do evil things.

Reverend Bissel, Kemptville, Ont.

As a retired Anglican clergyperson, I was disappointed with the tone of your story "Jesus at 2000," which awakened high expectations. In fact, the article was not about Jesus but about churches. They have always been changing, and some have not survived change; but He is the same yesterday, today and forever.

Rev. Leonard Stiffle, Toronto

In "Jesus at 2000," he seems to appear just four times in a 10-page story and there is only one passing reference to what he stood for. And I challenge the assumption that Christian churches are alive with the spirit of Jesus in 2000.

Mattie Hayes, Toronto

**Jesus Christ** and the comedian Tom Green ("Shocking Green," television) mentioned together on the cover of Maclean's is the clearest sign yet of the coming apocalyptic.

Paul Mekhora, Waterloo, Ont.

I am responding to a letter from John Grant who said Christianity would not have to reinvent itself if prayers were answered out in awhile ("Christmas challenge," The Mail, Dec. 13). Perhaps this gentleman is unaware that God also hears you when you pray and He also answers all prayers, but sometimes the answer is no. Could it be that Mr. Grant is the one who is not listening?

Jo-Anne Thompson, Brantford, Ont.

drove off that village and only heard passing references to it. Finally, in October, I took the time to visit the museum, view the film, see the artifacts and visit the original schoolhouse that is waiting to be refurbished. It was a glorious autumn afternoon filled with the glowing oranges and golds of nature, and I could only imagine how extraordinary with emotion the film former classic rock star had arriving at this safe haven.

Amarita Lalwani, *Syndicate*

### Farm-aid alienation

The article "Anger over firm ad" (Canada Notes, Nov. 8) contains facts which are misleading. Please take note.

John Matyszczyk, Greenville, Ohio

### **'Interesting irony'**

**Regarding "A vanishing memory"** (Editorial, Nov. 15), about forgotten Canadian soldiers who fought in the South African War a century ago, and "When kids go hungry," the excerpt is the same issue from Mel Hurtig's book *Pay the Rent or Feed the Kids*, about the persistence of poverty among Canadian children—I'm a Canadian, and I'm using my head at share.

ity firms, the corporate agenda will proceed unhampered, rendering unwanted genetically modified organisms and hormones down the chain. Eventually, all consumers will pay a heavy price for their lack of attention.

### **Chrétien's stand**

**Reading** Anthony Wilson-Smith's column "Oscar's odd couple" (Backstage, Nov. 15), was most annoyed at his generosity: "The Prime Minister's rosy budget stance is just fine with most other Canadians." I work with percentages, but I feel that there are many Canadians who are sick and tired

place, then they could put their considerable energies lobbying for a tax cut to better use by helping to set up such a charity. As the top tax bracket, a donation would probably save more than say rate cut, and do more good in the long run.

Malvina A. Gray-Orlitz

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## The Mail

### Remember the victims

**The Montreal Massacre** should never be forgotten ("Asian that will not fade," Canada, Dec. 6). This heinous crime is unique in Canadian history as a bright on the love and respect we have for our fellow citizens. I still remember the banner that engulfed me the morning I learned of the massacre at the University of Montreal's Ecole polytechnique. The one thing that goes on in each year, however, is that the media transmutes the murderer by continuing to name him, let it ride that we are up keeping him and just refer to him as the cowardly perpetrator of a violent and senseless crime against innocent, defenseless women! Let us remember his 14 victims instead, and pray that we in a society will never forget their names.

David W. McMillan, Comptroller, Inc.

**What the media** fail to comprehend is that Marc Lépine is not all Canadian men. He is more representative of Canadian men than Karla Homolka (convicted of谋杀 of two teenage girls in Ontario) is typical of Canadian women. Every year, the media and feminists lump all men in the same category as Lépine. Will they change their approach to this tragedy and finally understand that we men are not all Marc Lépine? Not so long as the media can use this tragedy to sell advertising and the feminists can exploit these 14 dead women to get government grants grants.

J. Kirby Innes, Toronto

### 'A finite ranking'

**Over the past** five years in Winnipeg, I have been privy to the satisfaction at my own institution about our consistent middle-of-the-pack performance in Maclean's annual university rankings ("Measuring excellence," Cover, Nov. 15), and the waiting and waiting at Winnipeg's other university, the University of Manitoba, about their consistent bottom-of-the-pile performance (this year being a notable exception). However, now that the University of Saskatchewan

has dropped a rank, I read an edification that Saskatchewan "does not receive the recognition it deserves" ("Universities," The Mail, Nov. 29). I have often heard University of Manitoba faculty and staff make the same sort of claim. I would like to remind everyone, regardless of the validity of the criteria selected and the accuracy of the measurement, that in a ranking of a finite set of institutions, someone has to be ranked last. Let's keep in mind that that doesn't mean the institution is a poor university; nor that no one should understand it. Relative rankings have to be properly understood.

New Bell Lecture, University of Winnipeg  
Department of Philosophy, Winnipeg

**Using such criteria** as high entrance requirements and more research professors, Maclean's continues to reward exclusivity and completely misses the mark in its ranking of Canadian universities. As someone who had a thoroughly enjoyable academic experience at the University of Manitoba (postgradually ranked poorly by Maclean's), and is currently enjoying a study at Ryerson Polytechnic University in Toronto (another of your bottom-feeders, despite an overwhelming success in the engineering category), I have come to see the survey in little more than an ill-informed, poorly researched insult. Fifty-one weeks a year, Maclean's distributes an informative, relevant and well-crafted magazine. Every November, however, its claim roots begin to show.

Steve Gao, Toronto

### An artistic award

**The article** "Trade secret" states that a silver box by Hilda artiz BII Red "won the Sudie Breitman Award" (Cover, Oct. 18). In fact, the Sudie Breitman Award for Excellence in the Crafts is presented to an artist in recognition of the full scope of his or her work. In Red's case, the jury considered a full artistic history and the quality of major work during back to the 1960s.

Stephanie Ingels, Director General, Research and Collections, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Que.

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## Editorial Update

### The Millennium Issue

Last summer Maclean's issued a chat page to its readers, asking the wares of young people who drew a spot on our 100 Canadians to which list, a special report to be featured in the magazine's year-end millennium issue. The names posted in — over 500 suggestions were received and considered by the magazine's editors. In the end, Maclean's 100 Canadians to Watch includes athletes, academics, entrepreneurs, self-made millionaires, community workers, computer whizzes, and more — Canada's best and brightest young minds. Maclean's is pleased to present this exciting portrait of talented Canadians in its special millennium issue, available on newsstands starting Monday, December 20.

With 1999 drawing to a close, Maclean's Millennium issue looks forward to its sharing future. The second half of this special issue — the brighter in living memory — pays tribute to our people past through the voices of people who lived through the events of the last 100 years. Magicians start spent nine months searching out Gendarmes, Jameses and lesser knowns, who could share their stories firsthand — what it was like to be a pioneer or war to see the flesh of an atomic bomb hitting Nagasaki, the thrill musician Johnny Davies equal concert playing with jazz great Cat Anderson and sculptor Khorng Phanith's excitement at leaving a Malaysian refugee camp for a new start in Canada. These and other selections capture the sweep of change, both enlightened and exponential, that have shaped Canada over the last century.

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Edited by Tanya Davies

## Actor William Hutt gets a stamp of approval

**C**anada Post has a long-standing policy against honouring living people by using their images on its stamps. The one exception is the reigning British monarch—in this case, Queen Elizabeth II, who has graced many different stamps during her 47 years on the throne. But for its millennium collection—a series of 68 stamps selected to represent significant Canadian achievements over the past century—the post office bent its rules just a bit. The Stratford Festival stamp, one of two celebrating theatre, includes an image of the Shakespearean theatre's famous proscenium stage, with William Hutt, one of Stratford's most distinguished and durable performers, sitting over it. "It is a funeral stamp," says post-office spokesman Tim McGehee, "and most people purchasing it probably won't realize who he is."

Perhaps. But 79-year-old Hutt has been around as long as the festival itself. He performed there in the 1955 inaugural



Here; the Stratford Festival stamp (below) featuring the ruler for a special collection.

season and spent 34 of the other 45 years as a member of the company. He can do comedy just as well as tragedy, and at his peak in the 1970s often played as many as five major roles in a season. Now, on the cusp of 90, he is slowing down, but not retiring. Last summer, he appeared in just one production, portraying the wizened Prospero in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. For its Stratford stamp, Canada Post used a playful image of Hutt as Prospero, with arms outstretched and a wryish expression on his ruggedly handsome face. Hutt may or may not be recognizable, but few who are familiar with his work would question that he is deserving. "He is amazing," says Stratford artistic director Richard Morisset. "He's won all kinds of awards. It's fitting that we celebrate his accomplishments."

## Weird and wacky

*Strange national stories and predictions weren't the only odd news items this year. Below are some examples of the weirder news items of 1999.*

• **A Tokyo teacher** was suspended for three months after ordering two of his students to commit suicide. The teacher was taking the junior high school students on a camping trip and demanded that they consume oral sulciide after discovering their rations supply of chocolate. The pupils refused to kill themselves.

• **A 25-year-old** Toronto man was arrested after being caught having sex with a chain-link fence. Police officers found the man with his pants down at his ankles grinding against a fence with, as one

officer described it, "a look of pleasure on his face."

• **Masseur, Ont.**, native Julian Keyes was sentenced to 50 days in jail for sticking his tongue in a female store clerk's ear. He was sentenced to an additional 10 days for shoving mouthwash, jelly beans and a soap erie.

• **After stopping** for a few donuts at a Zatarain's bakery, a Zatarain's baker found that the 20-month paton he was supposed to be transporting had escaped. Not wanting to admit his incompetence, the driver went to a nearby bus stop and offered staff to fire a firecracker. He then delivered the passengers to the animal hospital, telling staff that the patons were very unstable and prone to become felines. The deception, which

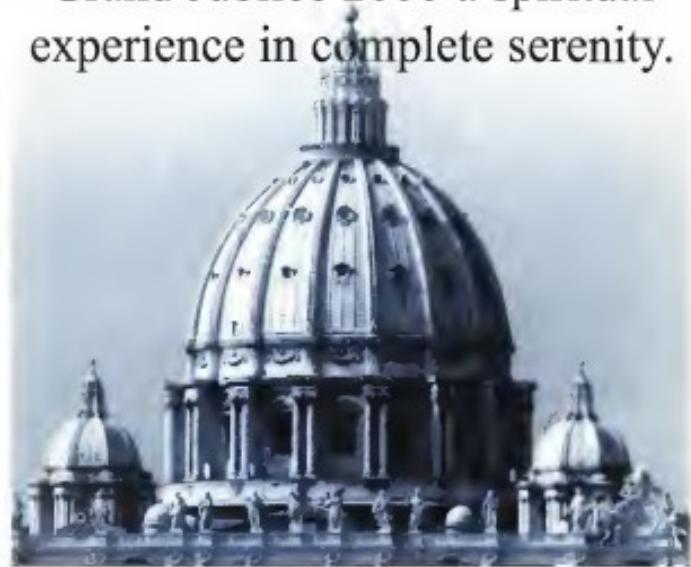
discovered for three days.

• **An Egyptian court** rejected a charge of slander levied at U.S. President Bill Clinton by an Egyptian man, Abdal Hamid Baduy, who claimed that his family had become a laughingstock because they sleep thick mats with the U.S. first dog, Buddy.

• **When Barbados** prime minister Robbie Carrington tried to enter the United States, he told customs officers at Miami International Airport he had nothing to declare. But they became suspicious after noticing that his pants had, at one officer put it, "some ominous bulges in unusual places." Carrington was arrested after they found 55 10-on-long, red-finned conger eels—an endangered species—stuffed in his pants.

Buddy and  
Cheese slender

## Grand Jubilee 2000 a spiritual experience in complete serenity.



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## Opening Notes

### The official oddities book

*The fascination of the Canadian brewing and media conglomerate world seems to hold sway not for everyone. "It's probably a book no one buys—and gives to," publisher Michael Young, dryly remarks. But there it is, dinging their shelves. Since 1993, more than 85 million copies have been sold, a record sales total in the series' history. *Guinness World Records 2000: These are some of Canada's contributions to global pop culture may wish to see that Canadian entries grace the spectrum. Some examples:**

- \* The fastest time for 100 sprints to cover 100 miles was recorded by the Canadian Milner Athletic Club at Toronto's York University; mean time: 35 minutes 55.4 seconds.
- \* Lubricant initiator Kevin Jiao, 36, of Cobourg, Ont., holds the record for



Young: *Canadians hold a mirror of world records to the latest edition*

pulling a 16-ton flat truck 100 feet in the fastest time: 20.69 seconds.

- \* Doug Hart of Barrie, Ont., holds the honour of being the armwrestling champion: 24 paces while wearing 50-foot five-inch ribs.
- \* An Alberta woman who goes by the name of Keyser Kolossal claims the record for female tattoo coverage: 95 per cent of her body.
- \* Unfortunately, Vancouverite Mike Mazzola's fine-foot record for squatting, mark from the ear down in his eye was broken by American Jim Cheekin in 1998. Better luck next year.

### Mobsters swipe away the savings

Canadians are among the world's biggest users of debit cards, with more in circulation—\$4 million—than the population. But a crackdown on East European mobsters in three Canadian cities last week has resulted in a stern warning from the RCMP: watch where you swipe. In a Toronto raid, police literally scoured upon three stolen card-sweeping machines that had been rigged to automatically record a user's personal identification number. No more need for crooks to look over someone's shoulder at the checkout counter, or train a Peeping Tom camera at the PIN pad. An extra step by a crooked operator and mobsters have all the information they need to create a duplicate card and clean out a bank account. "This is the first time we've seen anything like this in North America," says RCMP congressional crime section Sgt. Gord Johnson.

While the Mounties weren't sure these machines have actually been used anywhere, they describe their discovery as a "wake-up call."

Debit-card fraud is the poor cousin of credit-card fraud, which last year cost Canadian banks \$162 million. It differs, too, in that banks aren't necessarily responsible for debit losses unless customers can prove they were dealing the victim of fraud—so 200 Montreal residents did last July when they were scammed by a baldie crooner. Neither the police nor the banks can offset statistics on debit fraud, though Johnson estimates these were probably 15 to 20 cases in Toronto in the past year.

Banks are currently designing new security measures that should make copying more difficult. But those at least three years away, giving mobsters plenty of time to debit other people's dollars.

## Passages

**Appointed:** Baronesson Lois Hole, 64, as lieutenant-governor of Alberta, and former Saskatchewan Liberal leader Lynda Havrestock, 51, as lieutenant-governor of that province by Prime Minister Jean Chretien. Both the two new appointees take office next year; Canada will have five female lieutenant-governors.



New appointees Hole (left) and Havrestock

**Died:** Rock and Roll Hall of Fame member Rick Danko, 56, a singer and bassist with the Woodstock-era group The Band, apparently dying in his sleep at his home in Woodstock, N.Y. Born in Simcoe, Ont., Danko left school at age 14 to play in rock 'n' roll groups. He formed The Band with Levon Helm, Garth Hudson, Robbie Robertson and the late Richard Manuel in 1965. After seven albums, the group broke up in 1976, and Danko went on to a solo career.

**Dislodged:** Big Ben, 23, the internationally-renowned snow-jumping horse who retired with two World Cup titles in 1994, after a bout of colic, in Peris, Ont.

**Disclosed:** By Philadelphia Flyers coach Roger Neilson, 55, that he was born out of wedlock to Toronto-born Neilson, who has coached a record seven NHL teams, and he would continue to be the bench while awaiting three months of chemotherapy and a bone marrow transplant. Doctors said he has a good chance for successful treatment.

**Die in America:** Stephen Johnson, 31, from a brain injury after being knocked unconscious during a Nov. 20 bus in Atlantic City, N.J. Johnson, who was on medical suspension after a CAT scan revealed abnormalities following an April match in Tortosa, Spain, was on flight to South Carolina, Georgia and, ultimately, New Jersey.

## Opening Notes

### Best-Sellers

#### Fiction

Author	Title	Weeks on chart
L. P. DOYLE	<i>Black Raven</i>	1
J. G. BROWN	<i>Death Order</i>	1
JOHN SPENCER	<i>Aftermath</i>	2
GREGORY WILSON	<i>As If People</i>	3
TOMIE FLANAGAN	<i>Murder Station</i>	4
P. L. POLK	<i>Meeting Point</i>	4
G. DAHSEY	<i>Porter</i>	5
THE HAGUE	<i>Angels</i>	5
PAULINE BREWSTER	<i>Dark Seven</i>	6
SHIRLEY	<i>14 Crimes</i>	6

#### Nonfiction

L. P. DOYLE	<i>Black Raven</i>	1
JOHN RABIDEAU	<i>Superior Superstition</i>	1
ROBERT PENN WARREN	<i>Requiem for a Heavyweight</i>	1
J. ALEXANDER	<i>Envy</i>	1
GORDON WATSON	<i>Introducing Dorothy Day</i>	2
GUY PAULINE	<i>Man Amongst Men</i>	2
PAULINE BREWSTER	<i>The Mystery Centre</i>	2
E. ALLEN	<i>On the Inside: My Hastings</i>	2
WILLIAM STYLIS	<i>Richard Rita</i>	3
SARAH GORDON	<i>Bad Blood</i>	3

(1 week on list)  
Compiled by Bruce Barnes

### Deadly history

**Hugh Halliday's** *Murder Among Greatmen* (Robert Brand) provides a lively history of duelling in Canada from early New France up to its heyday in the 1840s. Underpinned by rarely enforced laws, remnants of the legal and political establishment—including fur-trading chiefs, judges and Fathers of Confederation—often sought satisfaction in duels. Actual fights may have had little effect on the course of history, but one challenge had potential. In 1849, legislative debate over the controversial Rebellion Losses Bill grew so nasty that Tory John A. Macdonald challenged Gov. William Blaikie. But the sage-as-arms managed to collar Macdonald in time to ensure he would still be around to become Canada's first prime minister 18 years later.



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Barbara Amiel

## Fighting over a six-year-old

Elian Gonzalez, five years old, clung to an inner tube for two days in the Atlantic sea. His mother, it is said, had wedged him inside one of two inner tubes used behind the small boat trying to make the 195-km trip from Cuba to Florida. Elian saw his mother drown and his stepfather fade away. All 13 of his fellow passengers in the capsized boat disappeared and all but two of them drowned.

Elian saw the sun set and then darkness. He saw the sun rise and rockling but empty waves join the sea and the boy hanging on to an inner tube. How tenaciously the child gripped that piece of rubber, all that he had to defecate as something other than the sea. How he must have concentrated on what the government had told him to do before they all were somewhere else. And so it was that Elian came to America on Thanksgiving Day, and when two kids fishing off the coast of Florida spotted an old inner tube out there and knew—*at all costs*—that inner tube was worth searching out.

Elian, child of divorced parents, has lost his custodial parent. His father, who, if fit, should now be given custody, is in Cuba, in a two-hour speech last week (short for Fidel, who favors five-hour banquets). Castro demanded the boy back and organized thousands of demonstrators, including one particularly gonzo march of 2,000 grandmothers. His performance was an intense version of early Castro, threatening the United States with unspecified dangers if they did not return the child within 72 hours and speaking of Florida judges as "irreverent and vestal, conceit in the very marrow of their bones."

In Florida, Elian plays with his new birthday gifts, having celebrated his sixth birthday with relatives of his father who now have temporary custody of him. The father, a restaurateur at a resort hotel outside Havana, has been credibility-wrecked with contradictory statements. His relatives in Florida say he told them over the telephone that he was pleased Elian would be in America. Now he has appeared on Cuban TV supporting Castro's position: "I am confident," he said, "that our country, our revolution, our commander will do everything in his power and we'll have him home soon."

My political instincts are split down the middle. I abhor tyrannies and think any child must be better off in the United States than in one of the world's last Stalinist states. But equally, I respect the right of a parent to decide what is best for their child. The politicization of this issue by both sides obscures the danger of letting the state, either than the parent, make the decision of what is in Elian's best interests. But while I would take a parent's word as paramount, I would take Castro's words for the parent's. The parent's word has to be finely spoken.

With a child of such tender age, any American family could padding a custody application would normally send him to the surviving parent provided that parent could *afford* the cost of his fitness—meaning that he was not insane, alcohol or dead. His father may well wish to bring up Elian in Cuba. The court may wish to advise him that he may not be doing the best thing for his child, but that is the father's business. Except for this—the father has to be in Florida. No statement made long-distance from a tyranny such as Castro's Cuba can be viewed as free and admissible in a proper custody proceeding. (For those Canadians still living in a state of Cuban bliss, they could do worse than sum by reading the 1999 Human Rights Watch report on Cuba.)

The lawyer for the relatives in Florida wishing to persuade the court to keep Elian in the States might offer the most powerful *de facto* legal argument: the mother could have made in any such hearing—she gave up her life to bring her son to the United States. But this sacrifice has dark implications. What parent takes a five-year-old child into the open seas exposing them to such dangers? The mother's act was reckless and while I wouldn't presume to judge it, I could not have done it for all my love of liberty.

**President Clinton** has said "the law will decide what is in the best interests of the child." His words are ambiguous. It is a motherhood statement, but may mean that the U.S. immigration authorities will substitute a political decision for the judgment of the child's parents. The additional problem with this case is that to date no family court application has yet been made for a hearing. Both Castro and the boy's carers—Castro relatives in Florida seem afraid of losing the boy if they apply for custody through the courts rather than counting on political pressure to give him to them. And then the sub "*police*" should not be a substitute for the judgment of a fit parent. The more fact that a parent is a commander or a Nazi should not deprive him of parental rights. All of us could be exiled under such a principle. The state would be able to disinherit us, as will, simply deciding, over all, that practicing Christians, Moslems, vegetarians or New Age adherents are to be regarded as irrational people whose judgments can be disregarded and replaced by the wisdom of our rulers.

Elian's mother sacrificed her life for her child. Elian's father may well sacrifice his own liberty to bring up his son among Cubans. I cannot judge the merits of these actions. But I can judge one aspect of what is good and what is bad in this matter: bad is to let the state decide for any of these three human beings—dead mother, enslaved father and the six-year-old survivor—what is in their own best interests.



# The Vanishing Border

By Chris Wood in Vancouver

**Once a week,** the river and blue 18-wheeler trucks roll over from the Canada-U.S. border at Blaine, Wash., south of Vancouver. Once, as 53-year-old Robert Brooks of Coquitlam, B.C., shuns the Keweenaw up through the years and poles it toward Interstate 5, his 38-year-old —

wife, Donna, sits beside him, ready to spell him off at the wheel. And every time the big rig rolls over the border, she gets the same reaction: "You know you're in a foreign country," Brooks says. "And as soon as we come back across the border into Canada, it's a sigh of relief."

Brooks, one of 1,200 Canadians who participated in the 1999 Maclean's/CBC survey, admits to an anti-American

streak. Asked to describe our continental neighbour to the west, he said "ungrateful"—the word most often used by all Canadians surveyed. But ask Dennis Brooks if she would be willing to become one of those Americans and the answer comes just as quickly: "No." That view is widely shared—one Canadian poll respondent in four would willingly take up American citizenship. And nearly one in five say it would be a good idea for Canada to simply lower the flag and join the United States at a single nation.

The 16th annual Maclean's year-end poll now looks back over the previous findings (page 26) and examines our state of identity (page 32), the rise of entrepreneurs

**MACLEAN'S/CBC POLL  
Neighbourly Attitudes**

## Half of Canadians say we are becoming more American; one in four wants a U.S. passport

(page 48) and, as always, the art lives of Canadians. But it also poses the question: are Canadians giving up on the Maple Leaf?

Always elusive, the national identity has arguably never been more under attack. Globalization is eroding our leaders' power to manage the Canadian economy. The 500-channel TV universe and the *World Wide Web* have breached the cultural levees put in place by decades of federal policy. And 10 years after free trade, Canada and the United States are more than like a single market. Marijuana, Ozzy, electronics auteurist Vicent De Clouet speaks for many poll respondents who believe it is only a matter of time before the border vanishes entirely. "We've given up so much already, we consider ourselves the 51<sup>st</sup> state," the 54-year-old father of one says. "Political union just seems like an inevitability."

**Much in the poll seems to justify that prediction.** Fully half of Canadian respondents believe Canadians have become more like Americans in the past decade. On some issues, Canadians already differ less from their American neighbours than they often imagined. In all, nearly one Canadian in three surveyed agrees, like De Clouet, that within the next 25 years Canada and the United States will become one country—even if they oppose the idea.

But don't count Canada out. Beneath the surface, the responses from either side of the border point to deep differences of outlook and values. More than that, they suggest that the core virtues that Canadians have traditionally embraced—open-minded tolerance for other points of view, belief in a measure of equity between the advantaged and the less-so, a history built on negotiation rather than coercion—are still very much alive above the 49th parallel. So, too, is the determination of the great majority not to throw in the towel on what scholars have dubbed the "Canadian experiment."

Our differences from Americans are not always the ones we expect, however. It may not be surprising that almost as many Canadian respondents consider "the preservation of traditional family values" very important (33 per cent) as do Americans (36 per cent), although the phrase may carry a more overtly political burden in the United States. It is more startling to discover that despite

what many Canadians deplore as an out-of-control U.S. gun culture, American respondents are almost as likely to favour gun registration (76 per cent) as Canadians (66 per cent). And Canadians (especially women) feel no safer on their shores than Americans: 32 per cent of Canadians surveyed say they "would not feel at right alone" in their community, virtually a tie with the 33 per cent of Americans who say the same thing.

Another key question suggests Canadians are far more likely to entertain the idea of adopting the U.S. dollar as our currency than the Liberal's in Ottawa. Canadians surveyed are evenly split over a common North American currency—41 per cent in favour, 42 per cent against. Dennis Brooks, the long-distance trucker, is one who backs the idea. "Americans, they say, 'we paid in Canadian dollars, but all our expenses are in U.S. dollars. I think we would be better off with one dollar.'

The proportion of Canadians who say they would accept an opportunity to become a U.S. citizen is consistent—between 23 and 26 per cent in every region except Quebec, where it fails to reach even 10 per cent. But the question reveals a dramatic gender gap: men are nearly twice as likely as women (34 per cent to 18 per cent) to want U.S. citizenship. Quebec, meanwhile, is also where support for political union with the United States, erasing the border entirely, finds the most support among Canadians surveyed: 28 per cent compared with the national average of 19 per cent.

But well we one day merge with a larger neighbour? Possibly, but to judge from the overall results, that day is some way off. Even in Quebec, nearly two-thirds of respondents consider a political union a bad idea. Elsewhere, close to half (between 41 and 47 per cent) call it a "very poor" notion, another quarter, merely a "poor" one. And here is a paradox: Half of all Canadians surveyed believe they have become more like Americans over the past decade. When asked whether they feel the same as or different from Americans, they are evenly divided: 49 per cent say "the same," 49 per cent "different." But look at what Canadians were saying a decade earlier. In a Maclean's poll conducted in late 1989, 56 per cent of respondents described Canadian and American as "essentially or largely" the same. Only 43 per cent said they were different. So Canadians, it appears, now feel

### Shared values, conflicting values

Percentage who agree:

Canada U.S.

**The preservation of traditional family values is very important**

53

56

All guns should be registered

80

78

He or she has the right to impose their morality on others

66

76

It is acceptable for gays to teach school

66

56

We are allowing too many immigrants in

49

58

There is a hell

49

73

Marijuana use should be legalized

45

29

I would not walk alone at night in my community

32

38

any different from Americans than they did a decade ago. Interestingly, Americans also feel our differences are growing. In 1989, 76 per cent of U.S. respondents described the two countries as "mainly" or "essentially the same." In 1999, that has slipped to 71 per cent.

In the huge shadow of America, it may seem inappropriate to apply the word "patriot" to a Canadian citizen. But it seems most Canadians know exactly what Donia Brooks means about crossing the border. Ninety per cent of Canadian respondents assert that their country has "a unique identity separate and distinct from all other countries in the world." Seventy-seven per cent dispute the idea that the national identity is "nothing more than a desire to be American." In fact, they say, it is made up of many ingredients, including the nation's history, the accomplishments of its people and, at least as much as any other factor, the Canadian flag.

And we are still a more accepting society. It shows modestly in our attitude to immigrants, with Canadians surveyed being significantly less likely than Americans to say their country less in too many immigrants (49 per cent compared with 58). Only in British Columbia, where

last summer's outbreaks of illegal migration may be behind the strongest anti-immigration sentiment in Canada, does the level (at 54 per cent) approach the U.S. average.

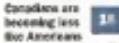
On either measure, the shift in perspective at the 10th parallel is even more striking. While 68 per cent of Canadian respondents consider it "acceptable" for gay people to be married, only 56 per cent of Americans agree. The gap is greater on the question of whether marijuana should be legalized: 45 per cent of Canadian respondents say it should, just 29 per cent of the Americans agree.

But the most dramatic difference is revealed by what some might consider a larger issue: In Canada, 29 per cent say they believe "strongly" in the existence of hell. Among Americans, that conviction is nearly twice as common, at 57 per cent. The cross-border difference is the largest on any question dealing with personal values. It goes hand in hand with another religious response. Asked how often they attend religious services, Americans are almost twice as likely to say at least once a week (42 per cent) as Canadians (22 per cent).

Another question, which asked respondents to identify the most important issue facing their country, sheds further light on our respective national characteristics. In both countries,

## Coming together...

Percentage of Canadians saying:



## ...or going our separate ways?

Percentage of Canadians saying Canadians and Americans are

mainly the same



## Constant craving

Percentage of Canadians saying they would take an opportunity to become a U.S. citizen:



## Americans don't expect union ...

Percentage responses in both countries on the likelihood of Canada and the United States becoming one nation in the next 25 years:



## ... but like the idea better than Canadians do

Percentage responses in both countries on the wisdom of becoming one:



the largest number of respondents (31 per cent of Canadians, 39 per cent of Americans) identify social or moral issues as their main pressing concern. But close examination reveals striking differences: How respondents define those issues. Among Americans in this group, 31 per cent identify their country's biggest problem as "immigration" or "immigrants." A further six per cent say the biggest problem facing the United States is either a shortage of religion ("We need Jesus back in America," says Leslie Hanson, a 33-year-old homemaker from Broken Arrow, Okla.), or abortion, homosexuality or adultery—all issues which previously conservative Christians

In Canada, moral decline, religious erosion, adultery, abortion and gay rights are barely mentioned; combined, they are the top issue for less than one per cent. Instead, nearly half of

respondents who identify social or moral concerns as the country's most pressing issue cite health care. Another fifth point to services for the poor, the young and the elderly.

One thing has changed over the decade: Americans who participated in the latest Maclean's poll are far less anxious in taking Canadian citizenship than the Americans in a similar poll 10 years earlier. Then, 42 per cent expressed a willingness to become Canadian. This time, the figure falls to 25 per cent (excluding the number of Canadians interested in U.S. citizenship). Canadians should probably not take it personally: it largely reflects U.S. satisfaction with a stable economy and world status, rather than aversion to Canadians.

And there are exceptions. Mary Knackstedt, an environmental educator in Peace Country, Wash., west of Seattle, says she might be pressed to take a Canadian passport. Having travelled to British Columbia, she says she likes Canadians' gun controls, medical care and the fact that there are "fewer people up there." But Knackstedt says she never gave much thought to the two nations merging until she participated in the poll. "It is not something Americans talk about—ever," she says. "We assume Canadians would not want to do that. You'd have a louder, greater identity. I wouldn't want to live it if I were you."

For Donna Brooks, there is only one reason to accept an American passport: to participate in a stronger economy. "We drive to California every week," she says, "because that's where the trading jobs take us." At home, Brooks calls herself "a very loyal Canadian" who would much rather stay one. "If the last Maclean's poll of the 1990s offers any guide, there will be a Canada to claim her loyalty for many years to come, as well as a border unmarred by the stubborn differences between two very similar peoples."

## Americans say we are friendly. We think they're arrogant.

To know, know, know you, in the Canadian-American relationship, is not necessarily to love, love, love you. This year's poll asked Canadians and Americans to describe each other in one word. Canadians had more negative than positive descriptors for Americans; Americans were more often positive about Canadians—when they felt confident enough of their knowledge of Canada to associate any adjective at all with their northern neighbours. Some descriptions from both sides of the line, showing percentage of responses in their category:

Canadian on American:	American on Canadian:	Canadian on Canadian:	American on Americans:
Arrogant or snobbish	Friendly	Friendly or good	Friendly
Aggressive	Peaceful	Helpful or caring	Free
Greedy or selfish	Polite	Unfriendly or cantankerous	Great
Ignorant	Helpful	Proud or patriotic	Hardworking
<b>But also:</b>			
Ambitious	People or humans	Spirited or weak	Greedy or money-oriented
Confident	OK	Passive or complacent	Arrogant
Innovative or smart	Arrogant	Compliant	Aggressive or pushy
Hardworking	Cold or unfriendly	Nave	Rude or abrasive
Overall negative	Overall positive	Overall majestic	Overall positive
Overall positive	Overall negative	Overall positive	Overall negative
Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral

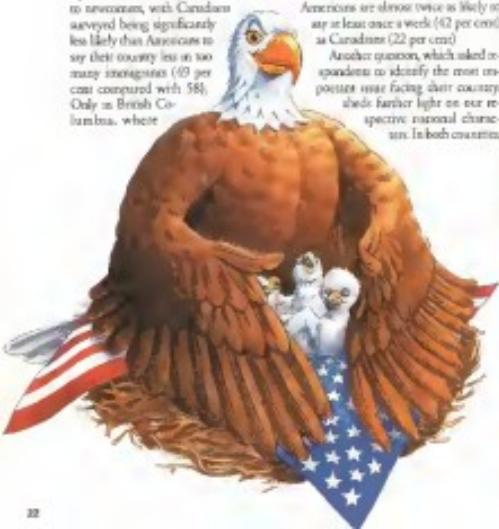


Illustration by Bruce Golding



Montreal's Canadiens face the Kings in L.A.: Canoe makes hockey, cano water

But is that enough for Canadians? Of course not. They may like us in a vague kind of way, give us the national lottery, but do they take the time to really get to know us? Sadly, no. Dots aware, politically active Americans can fall silent when quizzed about their closest ally and biggest trading partner. The foreign affairs department organized from grain in Baltimore and Atkins last summer, bringing together Americans who have actually attended a political meeting or worked for a candidate, to find out what they knew about Canada. The findings were not encouraging. Even those knowledgeable, engaged Americans came up with the most clichéd associations with Canada—things like snow, hockey, water and, yes, people. On specific issues, the majority response with respect to Canada was typically “Don’t know.”

Canadians, though, take a perverse pleasure in how little Americans know about them. There’s no easier way to raise yucks among Canadians than reciting the saying Yankie Rock Meter of *The Howe Hoot*: 22 Minutes makes a running gag of asking Americans about Canada and then broadcasting the most ridiculous answers. A columnist for the *Edmonton Sun*, Ray Dore, on a column in early December called “Yankee Doodle Dandies,” in which he asked readers to send in their favorite encounters with “knowledge-challenged” Americans. The result: scores of stories ranging from an American woman who wanted to buy a Canadian flag but only if she could get it in purple to the ever-popular (and surely spottable) tale of the hopeful U.S. tourist arriving at the border in July with skis strapped to the car roof. Always good for a laugh.

There’s no mystery why Americans are so ill-informed. Margaret Atwood once noted that the 49th parallel is the world’s longest undefended border but at biggest one-way mirror. We look down on them—constantly and obsessively—but, writes former U.S. ambassador James Blanchard in his recent memoir of his tenure in Ottawa, *Before the Embassy Door*: “When we look north, all we see is a collection of walruses.” No wonder the *Maclean’s* poll finds that fully 71 per cent of Americans think Canadians are essentially or mostly the same as them. Americans mean that as a smug compliment: Canadians, of course, often take it as an effusive denial of their distinct identity.

The low-down, but true, answer is that Americans generally know so much about Canada as they need to. Barely anyone with dealings in Canadian diplomatic and academic—with a professional interest; ordinary folk who live along the border—all tend to know a few amazings. People in Georgia or Texas, say, grow naturally a lot less. No need to be offended: the United States is so enormous that Americans are often quite ignorant about each other. And Americans don’t have to leave home to encounter odd places populated by bizarre people. They already have Minnesota and Alaska, who needs Manitoba and British Columbia?

The problem, of course, is that so many Canadians, including those who profess to disdain the Yanks, desperately want Americans to take an interest, to really get to know us. It is, writes Will Ferguson, “a classic love/hate obser-

tion.” Ferguson proposes these five propositions of Canadian nationalism in regard to Americans:

1. Boy, we hate Americans
2. We really do
3. Really
4. I’m not kidding. We really hate them
5. So how come they never pay us any attention?

“Booze,” he suggests, Canadians take a masochistic pleasure in being gossiped by the object of their obsession. Why else do they keep partying with their tax dollars to ask Americans, “So what do you really think about us, eh?” Why do Canadian newspapers print over every offhand comment about Canada by an American academic or junior official? Canadians, says Ferguson, “love to be misunderstood and unappreciated”—especially by big, strong America. “The problem is not that America is screwing us down—it which they are—but that they never send flowers or call afterwards.”

It’s not only Americans who are convinced that Canadians are congenitally nice. Canadians take this in stride of faith. The result is the famous Canadian sanguinity, the conviction that peaceful, public-spirited Canada is morally su-

# Benign Neglect

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

**The story goes like this:** police near Los Angeles find a woman wandering aimlessly alongside a highway. She doesn’t remember who she is or where she’s from. The only clue police have is that she’s very polite—so polite that they conclude she must be Canadian. They send a bulletin to police departments across Canada, and, mercifully, the turns out to have vanished from her home in Edmonton a few weeks earlier.

Mystery solved—and a national stereotypicalism again endorsed. Canadians, as seen by Americans, are so obviously nice that it amounts to a collective ring shot. Colgate writer Will Ferguson relates the story of the errant Canadian in *Why I Hate Canadians*, his satirical dissection of our national traits and delusions, and the Maclean’s/CBC survey tells a similar story. The most common word that comes to mind when Americans are asked to describe Canadians is friendly. After that,

they offer a list of bland but mainly positive adjectives: neighbours, normal, OK—even human.

All the evidence, in fact, confirms what Canadians have long suspected—that while Americans may not know a lot about Canadians, what they do know they like. Yes, after you, as cross-border cross-thru up and down the map, so presidents and prime ministers come and go, they maintain the same galling combination of specific ignorance and general good feeling towards Canada—which has been dubbed benign neglect. The Gallup polling firm recently asked Americans to rank how they feel about various countries. At the bottom, not surprisingly, came Saddam Hussein’s Iraq with a 9½-per-cent unfavorable rating. Right at the top, just ahead of Britain, came Canada, with a whopping 90-per-cent favourable. A scarcely conceivable figure given a negative view of Canada.

## Americans really don't know very much about us, but then, why should they?

penior to aggressive, capitalist America. Even Americans with a special fondness for Canada often find that hard to take. Tom Burns, co-chairman of Canadian studies at the University of California at Berkeley, moved his family back to old Loyola stuck in Nova Scotia, but tons of comments about Canadian superiority “Canadians can frankly be very self-righteous and preggish,” he says. “There’s this suggestion that greed and aggression are so American—as if they are unknown in Canada. It can be irritating.”

Burns agrees Americans don’t know much about Canada, but he wonders why Canadians seem convinced there’s a bad thing: “When Americans are more knowledgeable about a country they often take a dimmer view of it,” he says. “The situation now is pretty good for Canada. And if it isn’t broke, why fix it?” Why indeed—except for Canada’s eternal longing to be noticed by the big boy next door. ■

### Q: Are Canadians and Americans the same or different?

	CANADIAN RESPONSES (%)	AMERICAN RESPONSES (%)
Essentially the same	13	6
Mainly the same but with some differences	43	43
Mainly different but with some similarities	24	24
Essentially different	19	26

# Coming Of Age

**After a rough ride,** Canada's mood has returned to the confident outlook found in 1984's first year-end poll

By Allan R. Gregg

**Today, most people accept** due to understand individuals fully, you must put their adult behaviour in the context of their childhood and adolescent experience. Their experiences structure their outlook and create a prism through which adults view their world. The same process holds for a nation. As we look into the abyss of 2000 and ask "What awaits us?", it is useful to look back and ask other critical questions: "How did we get here, and how do we see ourselves as a consequence of that journey?" Some powerful clues come from the 15 previous annual polls that I and my associates have conducted for *Maclean's* since 1984. They document the organic evolution of our popular culture and provide a rare insight into the type of people we have become.

## Treasured values

Percentage of Canadians saying Canada can thrive in the new millennium by keeping its own values and not trying to become more like Americans



**1984—"Maclean's cover line declares  
'A confident nation speaks up!'**

"Painfully relieved to be rid of the Trudeau legacy," 79 per cent of Canadians express optimism about the future. We recognize that the country, and perhaps even the next generation, face problems (principally unemployment), but view them as solvable aberrations. Newly elected Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's cleanse call that Canada can be great again strikes a responsive chord. Fully 80 per cent of respondents say they trust to government to look after their best interests.

**1985—"A disquieting mood!"**

Concerns over the economy are combined with the first traces of doubt about the notion of free trade. The number of Canadians looking to government to solve their problems drops to 62 per cent. The poll uncovers a growing unease with a government focused on trade and the deficit—concerns the public does not share.

**1986—"A volatile national mood!"**

The study finds a population shedding its idealism—questioning whether our problems indeed are solvable—in favour of pragmatism. A quarter of respondents express concern about the government's preoccupation with free trade. While still optimistic about the future and satisfied with their personal situations, Canadians are disengaging from the political process and turning more inward, towards family and local community. Much of the anxiety centres on a growing cynicism and conclusion that we are on the threshold of profound change.

**1987—"How we see ourselves"**

The stock market crash signals for many the end of prosperity as a birthright. Concern over AIDS surfaces for the first time. The top issue is free trade, as dissatisfaction with Mulroney's economic policies still hold out hope for the future

but are losing faith in the solutions put forward by their leaders, and in their leaders themselves.

**1988—"A spotlight on桂ans!"**

The poll suggests arade awakening for Canadians. Underlying worries are more acute and reinforced than ever before. Concerns now include crime, rising racism, violence against women, AIDS and even the quality of drinking water. The "nowness" of these problems brings an urgency to the question of what kind of future we face. We conclude that a crisis of expectation is imminent as Canadians come to recognize that, as individuals and as a nation, we cannot shelter ourselves from a changing world.

**1989—"An uncertain nation: Canada at a crossroads!"**

Little happens in a year of political uncertainty. As problems are seen to deepen and become more entrenched, Taxes and the new GST top the

public's concerns. Free trade—the cornerstone of the Mulroney re-election—is associated with job losses. The Meech Lake accord also the public to focus instead on government-inspired constitutional issues at a time when Canadians are concentrating on acute personal problems and looming global crises. Maclean's concludes that the poll "engages deep and even bitter divisions among Canadians, not only over their definition of Canada and what it should be, but also between language groups and regions." Government is now seen not as solving national problems but as making an uncertain world worse.

**1990—"A shaken nation harnesses its anger!"**

The rift between Quebec and English Canada has widened dangerously, Maclean's writes. "Canadians as a whole are suffering from a massive loss of confidence in politics and in the political system itself." For the first time, a greater number of respondents are less rather than more proud to be a Canadian than a decade before. We conclude that the "rossed grain and, politically, in urgent on anxiety." The findings, however, hint at what Canadians increasingly view as the antidote to "systems failure"—public consultation, as in the魁北克 "own-ball meeting."

**1991—"An action plan for Canada!"**

Reflecting the popular belief that politicians and political solutions are completely incapable of solving national problems, Maclean's organizes a citizens' forum. This wholesale





MACLEAN'S/CBC POLL | Overview

## Social issues are driven by nontraditional sources of power—women, young people and society's have-nots

loss of faith is reflected in the highest levels of pessimism we have ever detected. In fact, as governments of every stripe and in every region align in an all-out effort to galvanize public support for their Charlottetown accord, Canadians report by a 3 to 1 margin that the recession is more important to them than constitutional reform. A new protest movement emerges in 46 per cent of Canadians say it is "likely" they will vote Reform.

### 1992—"Hope in hard times"

With the defeat of the Charlottetown accord, the public's attention shifts back to the economy—the 64 per cent expressing concern in that year is the highest ever detected. The sense that "politics just don't get it" deepens, but the poll finds that much of the political alienation is linked directly to economic dissatisfaction. Rejecting not only their politicians but their solutions, Canadians are more prepared to entertain new solutions. We have come to accept that "the future is not what it used to be." We see a population rejecting both radical Conservative philosophy and the '60s notion that government can solve problems on its own.

### 1993—"How we differ!"

The year sets the focus on Liberal government and the ascendancy of the Bloc Québécois in Quebec. Regional differences in the nation's issues agenda are



**Author (left), Gregg, trying to explain news'**

more pronounced than in years past—the West is increasingly concerned with government deficit and debt, while Central and Eastern Canada continue to be concerned with jobs and unemployment. Canadians seem to conclude that if no one is speaking for the national interest, it is up to us to pursue our own."

### 1994—"Looking inward"

The poll reveals a sharp contrast between private satisfaction and public confidence. Philosophies to majority report a worsening of everything from health care (64 per cent) and the quality of transportation (67 per cent) to income disparities (69 per cent), the behaviour of young people (70 per cent) and violent crime (85 per cent). Yet Canadians also claim widespread satisfaction with their personal lives—relationships, family and even sex. There is a darker side—as one expert concludes: "We are becoming a nation of greedy,

# Asserting Female Values

**From social issues to sex, women are challenging male attitudes**

By Carl Moffatt

**T**raditional wisdom holds that the typical mind-set of the male of the species who covets money, status and associated trappings while the female focus is more often on communication, well-being. As many individual exceptions as there may be to these generalizations, the latest Maclean's/CBC year-end poll finds them supported in numbers. The evidence turns up in poll responses that range from singling out the most important problem facing Canada and defining national values to gauging



A health-care rally in Ashby, Mass., shows women and men coming together.

ing relations with the United States. Time and again, male responses are more likely oriented to business and economic influences—the realities of the workplace world. As often, female answers reflect an emphasis with family and community interests, reinforced by an impulse for compassion. And on matters relating to sexual activity, the genders show distinctly different attitudes.

Take the issues cited as the most important Canadian problems. Among both the men (67 per cent), but less than a third of women (20 per cent), point to dollar-and-cent difficulties—unemployment, the economy, taxation, government debt and spending. Women, by a rate of two to one over men (60 per cent to 23 per cent), place priority on troubles bearing such social issues as health care, assistance to the poor and education. And with the economy gathering steam after years of no

growth or slow growth, more men than women (44 per cent to 35 per cent) say they consider themselves better off financially than they were 10 years ago. The difference narrows somewhat, in looking to the future: 40 per cent of men but only 34 per cent of women say they are at least a little more optimistic now than they were a decade ago.

On some questions, the gender gap vanishes. Two out of five men and women think Canada surpasses the United States in standard of living. And when asked whether Canadians have become more like Americans during the past 10 years, half of the poll respondents, regardless of gender, say yes. But on attitudes toward core morality values, women are stronger supporters of gay marriage (by 88 per cent to 71 per cent) and in their readiness to accept gay teachers in schools (73 to 63), but less inclined to approve of the legalization of marijuana (40 to 65).

Poll results indicate that women are decidedly more wary than men about relations with the Americans. Women are far less likely to believe in the sense of pridearity who think Canada has gained more than the United States from 10 years of free trade. Men are however clearly inclined to favour the Americanization of Canadian culture in five compared with one in 10 women say the values of Canadians must become more American if Canada is to thrive. And more women than men say Ottawa should take a steeper line against Americanization. As far Canada becoming part of the United States, one-quarter of the male respondents but just one in seven women think that would be a good thing.

When sex comes in head in the survey, male-female differences reach chivalrous proportions—and prompt wild arrests. What is really going on when 69 per cent of men but only 49 per cent of women claim to be sexually active? One answer may lie in differing interpretations of "sexually active." Similar reasons may lie behind a finding that almost three times as many women as men (19 per cent to seven per cent) say they are "not sexually active at all." And varying privacy standards may explain why one out of five women—an contrast to only one in 10 men—does not reply at all in the sex-survey question.

As for fantasizing about having sex, more than one-third of women say they never do. This is virtually the same as the proportion of males who say they indulge in fantasies either two to five times a day or 10 or more times a day. But then, 20 per cent of men and only 12 per cent of women say they have used erotic materials or sexual aids. For men, it seems, the toys and the tragi-comedy encounters play a bigger role in the quest for better sex. ■

# What Makes A Canadian?

By Bruce Wallace

**Come on people, it's the best we can do!** Are Canadians really "spineless," which was one of the most popular responses when the *Maclean's/CBC* poll asked Canadians to choose one word to describe their compatriots? Tied at six per cent of responses was "positive." But do spineless and passive really describe a country that likes to boast how its hockey players may be a little short on skills but long on heart, tenacity and grit? Is "laid-back"—another popular answer at four per cent—the way we act even when the oil went out from our allies this year to fly bombing missions over Kosovo?

Some 12 per cent came up with "friendly"—the most popular choice of those who could come up with an answer. But you have to wonder whether our self-image matches our accomplishments. Was one of the world's great trading nations built on lack of resolve? Were those Canadian soldiers hunting the blackened remains of East Timor an example of "courage"? That 15 per cent of respondents can't think of a single defining characteristic is astounding given the amount of breath our chattering classes have expended searching for the Canadian soul ("A condition of ideas based on an assumption of the public good," was one of author John Balston Stull's eloquent stab at it, though hardly in one word.) Uncovering Canadian identity has not been just an obsession. It is probably the

We're certain  
we're unique, but  
we don't seem to  
know precisely  
what sets us apart  
from others



## To fight or to join?

What should the government do if Canada is becoming more American?

**Do nothing and let things simply work themselves out.**

28

**Do more to encourage the process.**

14

defining characteristic of the place itself?

Therein, however, much to lament about our nation. Canadians may be certain we are a distinct society—or so say an overwhelming 90 per cent of respondents to the *Maclean's/CBC* poll. "There are massive numbers showing that in spite of all the cynics who say Canada has lost its way, we still have a strong sense of identity," says Alan Gregg, president of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll. But Gregg agrees that Canadians don't seem to know exactly what it is that makes us so different or unique. "We don't seem to feel the need to define it," he adds. "It's in some vague sense that well, we've got our flag. And it's cold here. We're Canadians, damn it. Our difference is us."

Scratch a Canadian about what makes us the way we are

and you get a celebration of the obvious. The flag is the most important characteristic, according to 80 per cent of respondents—and it is unarguably a genuine icon composed with all those other forgettable coloured shapes. Third for first place in the pride we take in Canadian armament and scientists who have become prominent internationally (forgetting a country branded by the Maple Leaf and Shania Twain's belly button).

Smaller countries tend to show pride when their nationalities rise to the top of the American-driven celebrity machine. But we are going to goddam it—son with Celine Dion and Sarah McLachlan and see how long the list grows—until it can be argued Canada now has a pretty fair star system of its own. Add to that the乏use of such authors as Margaret Atwood and Michael Ondrejka, the Nobel achievement of economist Robert Mundell, the heroes of *The Great One*, Wayne Gretzky, among many success stories, and Canadians are easily bursting with national pride.

It is clear from the poll, however, that some self-delusion is at play. For example, 77 per cent of respondents say it is a strong sense of our own identity, rather than simply a desire not to be Americans, that defines us. This comes in a year when one of the top selling books was Jack Granitano's *Wife Killed Herself History*, which reminds our poor grasp of the national story. Another two-thirds answer that our standard of living is in good or even higher than the American level (in purely economic terms) that just plain wrong. "The '90s, in fact, have seen our living standards fall further behind the Americans," is a big lie that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien ignores in favour of cheery statistics like the UN human development index, which has placed us first among nations for its straight years. As Thomas D'Agostino, president of the Business Council on National Issues, notes: "We have a government in Ottawa that fails to grasp the gravity of the situation facing the country."

Yet the American economic model, with all its aggressiveness and hotly-clad entrepreneurs, rewards Americans to huge swaths of Canadian society. Which is fine if you

## How to keep Canada Canadian

Percentage of respondents who think that in order to maintain a strong Canadian identity in the next century, the following elements have to be greater

	Canada	Quebec	West	Waves
Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada	73	66	59	56
Our entrepreneurial spirit	70	90	54	82
Our willingness to take risks	73	81	78	69
The role of the provincial government in your province	65	73	62	66
The role of the federal government	56	59	56	62



*Clockwise from left:* Tori Spelling; Donald Trump; many Canadians associate the national identity with the success of our artists and athletes



## Ontario's Mike Harris sees merit in courting the Americans

want your country to be known in this new global economic jungle as a sort of 1960s-style hippie renegade, encircled by the noise of an outside world in contention. But what will others think of that? In a world that lives by images, nations can founder unless they have a good one.

Listen to the warning from Ted Lymann, a senior vice-president at U.S.-based IC3 Consulting, who was asked by a group of Ottawa high-tech business executives to study the region's prospects in the global economy. He reported back to them last month that the Ottawa high-tech sector lacks that "Ere-in-the-belly, let's be the-something-a-new-company" spirit that has made California's Silicon Valley such a success. Lymann said Ottawa's high-tech subversives won't really take off until their entrepreneurs accept that failure is not a state of shame to be hidden, but a badge of boldness.

Of course it no longer takes an outsider to point out our shortcomings. A growing number of Canadians agree the "American Way" is not a disease that might infect us, but instead a good example to效仿. In a speech titled "Strengthening the Social Quo," delivered in Toronto last month, D'Agostino decried the shortcomings of corporate Canada—"our lack of entrepreneurship and daring, our willingness to hide behind a weak currency, our hesitancy to make inroads in foreign markets, and our impatience to kowtow under to government ballyhooing." D'Agostino's organization surveyed Canadian business

### The symbols of a nation

Percentage of respondents who think these factors are an important part of what makes us Canadian:

	Canadians	Ontario	Men	Women
<b>The flag</b>	83	60	78	82
<b>Achievements of prominent Canadians, such as artists and scientists, around the world</b>	83	75	76	84
<b>Our dialects and geography</b>	7+	77	73	85
<b>Our health-care system</b>	75	67	77	79
<b>Our interdependent and multicultural makeup</b>	77	76	73	80
<b>Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada</b>	74	68	70	79
<b>The traditional family</b>	73	69	66	79
<b>English- and French speakers sharing one country</b>	70	66	65	76
<b>Hockey</b>	67	46	66	97
<b>Our Aboriginal Peoples</b>	63	48	58	69
<b>Restrictions on gun ownership and use</b>	62	58	56	70
<b>Public broadcasting</b>	63	62	54	72
<b>The way we treat the poor and disadvantaged</b>	60	54	55	63
<b>A Creative heritage</b>	54	47	48	63
<b>Having the Queen as our monarch</b>	41	20	34	48

**MACLEAN'S/CBC POLL**  
**Identity Crisis**

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trophy case, standard.

**FordFocus** 2000 is being praised by automotive journalists across the country for being one of the most stylish and affordable cars on the market. In a recent testing program performed by the Automobile Journalists Association of Canada, **FordFocus** 2000 was awarded

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President of the Canadian Group of the International Federation of the Automotive Journalists

leaders and found a "deep frustration at an underlying attitude of envy and entitlement" that runs through the Canadian culture. "There are still many Canadians who remain suspicious of the business community," he complained.

That frustration reflects a growing cultural divide. The traditional self-image of Canada as a kinder country, less individualistic, less obsessed with wealth, believing in government as a force for good, is no longer unchallenged. Attitudes are changing. The favors unleashed by the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, which saw at the country's fibre in the late 1980s, now bury a chip on our emotional radar. Canadians may not think free trade has been all good but, like the majority, few seriously believe it is going away. In fact, more respondents think the Internet now has a greater impact on drawing us closer to Americans. Only 25 per cent of those who think we are becoming more like Americans attribute it to free trade, while 34 per cent finger the Internet. Most, however, cite the pervasiveness of American media (38 per cent), followed by U.S. investment in our economy (35 per cent).

Signs of a new cultural and political shift first show up in a question on whether Canadians would win or lose by having a common currency with the United States. Forty-four per cent said some benefit in a common dollar; 42 per cent think we'd lose out—so far. But the evidence of change is not all quantitative; it was once regarded as un-Canadian to proudly display personal wealth. Not anymore, as one look at the construction "cottage" going up along the waterfronts of the Muskoka lakes north of Toronto can prove. And Ontario's showy high-tech businessman Michael Corngold at least does not offend everyone in town, as he once would have.

New language but also steps into politics. For every old-style leader like Jean Chrétien, who admires taking an occasional swing at Washington because it plays so well at home, there is another like Ontario's twice-elected Premier Mike Harris, who sees benefits in making nice with the boys down south. At a recent Great Lakes Governor Conference, Harris told his American audience: "We really see you as very, very strategic, more so than many parts of Canada. What happens in Newfoundland and British Columbia economically," he added, "does not affect us as much as what happens in Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania."

### That Canadian feeling

Percentage saying Canada has a unique identity as a country

	Canada	B.C.	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic	West	Women
90	89	93	92	84	93	90	90	

Percentage saying that identity is based on a strong sense of our own history, rather than simply a desire not to be American

	Canada	B.C.	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic	West	Men	Women
77	80	76	78	73	85	76	79		



Gweneth, taking the Canadian game to the Americans

### Marking Ottawa's efforts

Percentage responses on how good a job the federal government has done to protect Canada as a sovereign nation



# JODIE FOSTER CHOW YUN-FAT



# ANNA AND THE KING

CHRISTMAS

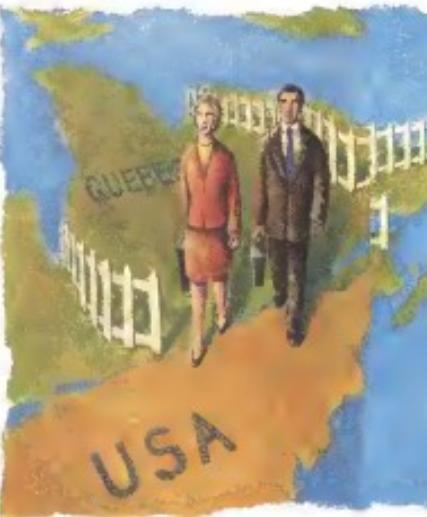
# A Southern Exposure

**Quebecers are low in optimism—but high in their admiration of the American way**

By Brenda Bravewell in Montreal

On a grey December day in downtown Montreal, a throng of shoppers scroll past a bistro who taps a spoon-like companion to the beat of lively Québécois folk music. The bustle and bustle, and the new businesses now occupying many of the long-empty stores, reflect the province's recovering economy. In November, Quebec posted its lowest unemployment rate since 1976, at 8.4 per cent. But in his narrow souvenir shop, Houston Tabb isn't breaking out the champagne. Asked to compare his lot with the situation a decade ago, the 52-year-old store owner is unapologetic. "Business was easy, much easier then," declares Tabb. Instead of his former eight-hour days, he now works 12 and grapples with higher expenses and steeper competition. When he once freighted it out with three delivery trucks along his stretch of St. Catherine Street, he now competes with 11. Says Tabb: "It was much better before."

His feelings reflect the *fin-de-siècle* mood among many Quebecers, who emerge the least optimistic of all Canadians in the annual Maclean's/CBC poll. Whether sitting up their portfolios or contemplating the future, Quebecers are decidedly less bullish than other Canadians. They also part company with the rest of Canada on a range of issues, from their more positive view of Americans and more ambivalent opinion of Canadians to their gloomier views from the bedroom. On economic questions, the different outlook between Quebecers and neighbouring Ontario is striking. A mere 27 per cent of Quebec respondents feel optimistic about the future, compared with 40 per cent in the rest of Canada, and 45 per cent in the most optimistic region—Ontario. And only 29 per cent of Quebecers think their financial situation has improved in the past decade, compared with 44 per cent of Ontarians. They're hurting more financially than



any region in the country right now," says Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll.

Parti Québécois Finance Minister Bernard Landry presented in 1998 that Quebec would soon be entering the "green valley" of budget surplus. But they aren't finding there yet. One of the last provinces to turn in a deficit, Quebec finally balanced its books in March. But hospitals, schools and municipalities still red from years of painful cuts. And individual Quebecers, the country's most highly taxed

citizens, can only expect modest increases in the spring budget. While Quebec's economy chugs along, its unemployment rate remains 1.5 points above the 6.9-per-cent national average. That explains why Quebec respondents, in greater numbers than any region outside the Atlantic, identify unemployment as the key problem facing Canada. "My fear is that we are so late in the prosperity cycle of North America," says Diamond Morris, director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, "that the bubble will burst or the stock market will collapse for real. We'll be left behind without having actually caught up and we'll again be in a slowdown."

Quebecers view the United States through a decidedly distinct lens. More Quebecers insist we are different from our American neighbours, yet previous research shows them in a way unmatched by other Canadians. When asked to sum up Americans in a word, among the adjectives most used by Quebec respondents are "rich" and "prosperous." That same set of focus on American wealth surfaces elsewhere: fewer respondents from Quebec than anywhere else in the country feel Canada has a higher standard of living. Half of Quebecers think a common currency with the United States would be beneficial, compared with 41 per cent in the rest of Canada. And more Quebec respondents welcome the notion of U.S. citizenship—32 per cent compared with 24 per cent elsewhere in Canada.

For poll respondent Joëly Carbonneau, the appeal of moving south of the border is largely financial. A Quebec City asphalt-mechanic, Carbonneau, 42, claims Canada's high personal income taxes and costly federal and provincial governments. "We're middle class and I think we pay far too much," complains Carbonneau. Like 28 per cent of Quebecers—virtually 16 per cent outside that province—he also supports the idea of

Canada and the United States becoming one nation, suggesting that would put an end to our linguistic and constitutional squabbles. If he got American citizenship, Carbonneau says, he would be unfazed about leaving: a French-speaking province for an English-speaking country; he would learn English and seek out a "nice small place that's hot."

The findings don't surprise Roger Berger, a political marketing professor at the Université du Québec à Montréal's public administration school. "Québecers are generally more open

## A bleaker outlook

Just 27% of Quebecers say they are more optimistic about the future than they were a decade ago

National average  
Ontario

37%  
44%

towards Americans," says Berger. The long-standing attraction to the States likely stems from friction in relations with English-speaking Canada, he says.

"They probably had the impression that they'd be accepted more easily in a continental American environment," says Berger. But he thinks Quebecers generally are not familiar with the United States and that their view is "more based on perception." Morris agrees that Quebecers have historically viewed Americans differently from other Canadians. During the economically depressed period of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, notes Morris, Quebec "chose instead to go west" to New England rather than English-speaking Canada. And the evidence lies on: "Quebecers don't feel particularly at home going to Georgian Bay for their summer holidays," says Morris. "They can go to Cap Cod or beaches in Maine because they will find other francophones lolling on the beach next to them."

Prominently given the previous sovereignty debates, Quebecers emerge as the least attached to Canada in the poll. When asked about separation factors making up the national identity, Quebec respondents listed several symbols and values lower than other Canadians. Only 33 per cent of Quebecers—a full 20 percentage points below the national average—feel the Canadian flag was a very important part of our identity. Quebec will often notice a lot," says Berger, who has conducted several studies on Quebec attitudes for federal agencies, "but they've traditionally had an important degree of attachment to Canada." But he argues that the federal government needs to reinforce its presence in the remaining areas it still serves. Says Berger: "It's very difficult to sell a political ideology if you are less present on the ground."

Quebecers also stand out from other Canadians in the bedroom, or so they say. Only Newfoundlanders say they are more sexually active than Quebec—46 per cent active compared with 40 per cent. And Quebec respondents claim to be the most satisfied with their sex life: 79 per cent compared with the national average of 73 per cent. No slouch either when it comes to sexual thoughts: more Quebecers report having anywhere from one to 10 or more sexual fantasies a day (69 per cent). Next to that category is Ontario, at 53 per cent. So why do Quebecers score so highly in sex questions? "There's a hedonism in Quebec, manifesting itself in the sex act," says Gregg, "that is completely different from the kind of upright, upright and plumpish view of the world."

Quebecers' distinctive approach also creeps up in other areas. They are less likely to be hellish than other Canadians—only 34 per cent compared with 49 per cent in Canada as a whole. Gregg notes that the furnish results in recent years show that in many respects Quebec, having shed much of its attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, is a much more modern, secular culture, "less hung up on religious dogma and liturgy than anglophones." From the bedroom to the bedroom and from paroisse to religion, Quebecers seem again claim a different course. ■

# The Need to Take Risks

**Canadians are starting to see entrepreneurship as key to maintaining a strong identity**

By Ross Lawer

He is the scion of one of corporate Canada's best-known leaders, yet Edward Wilson has ventured a long way from his father's establishment footings. At 23, the McGill University graduate and son of BCE Corp. chairman Lyons (Rolf Wilson is the founder of Braintrust.com, a tiny Montreal-based Web start-up that sells discounted textbooks, software and related products to university students in Central and Eastern Canada). Like many young entrepreneurs, Wilson isn't exactly living the high life: he works seven days a week, draws no salary and has only one full-time employee, but he's not complaining. "Being responsible for your own destiny is a completely different attitude than working at a big company," says Wilson, who once spent two months in the industrial relations department of BCE subsidiary Bell Canada. "It's entirely possible that next year I'll find myself broke and penniless, but if that happened, my mind would be on my next project, trying to come up with a better product than the guy down the street."

To some extent, Edward Wilson appears representative of a generational shift. In marked contrast to their southern neighbours, Canadians on the whole have never prided

themselves on their entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to take risks. As Rolf Wilson puts it, "We've tended to think of a businessman as someone who has been given some kind of charter or a licence by government, and hence there's a certain suspicion of people who do things independently." That's still undoubtedly a lot of truth to the old stereotype, but this year's Maclean's/CIBC poll suggests that those attitudes are changing. Overall, 83 per cent of those surveyed say that Canadians will need to demonstrate more entrepreneurial spirit in the new century in order to maintain a strong national identity. Similarly, three out of four respondents say more "willingness to take risks" would bolster our national identity.

In general, younger Canadians appear most convinced of the need for more entrepreneurship. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents aged 18 to 24 say a stronger entrepreneurial mind-set would strengthen Canadians' identity, compared with 73 per cent of those aged 65 or older. Similarly, Quebecers are somewhat more inclined to favour an increased focus on entrepreneurship than respondents from English-speaking provinces—although there, too, the differences are at degree rather than kind. "We've always looked to Americans as the true entrepreneurs," says Michael Sullivan, a partner in the polling firm The Strategic Council, "but in the past decade or so Canadian small-business owners have really been the heroes of our economy in terms of creating new jobs." Adds Sullivan: "There's also an element, I think, of people looking

## Losing control

Percentage of Canadians saying that in the past few years there has been . . .

A loss of Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	64
No change in Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	14
An increase in Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	14

## Keep Canada Canadian

Percentage of Canadians saying . . .

Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada is an important part of what makes us Canadian	73
Greater Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	83
Greater entrepreneurial spirit is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	63
Greater willingness to take risks is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	73



Edward Wilson, typical start-up, with an irregular psyche

over the border, seeing how new businesses have been transforming society in the United States and saying to themselves, "We need a piece of that here."

The Strategic Council's chairman, Alan Gregg, agrees that Canadians have come to embrace the notion of entrepreneurship, but cautions that the word may conjure up different images on either side of the Canada-U.S. border. "For Canadians, it's not so much an expression of bridled fish in free enterprise, but more a defense mechanism against an increasingly uncertain world," he says. "They see it not as American-style, dog-eat-dog entrepreneurship, but more a case of the triumphant businessman surging something from scratch and resting comfortably at age 55."

It's clear that a growing number of Canadians are changing. According to Statistics Canada, the number of self-employed people across the country doubled between 1976 and 1998, to 2.3 million. In the wake of the last recession, some economists have attributed the increase to a scarcity of traditional, full-time positions. But others believe that younger people in particular crave the flexibility and independence

associated with self-employment. They also tend not to have families, mortgages and other financial encumbrances that require a stable income. "Right now, I'm still young, so I don't really feel the pressure to earn a steady psyche," says Ed Wilson.

Of course, it's not just young Canadians who dream of working for themselves. In a survey conducted earlier this year by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and Scotiabank, 46 per cent of respondents said they were "somewhat or very likely" to consider going into business for themselves. The same study showed that Canadians view small-business owners as highly motivated, responsive to consumer needs and innovative. Asked to explain their positive view of entrepreneurs and small business, the largest group of respondents, 42 per cent, cited the contribution small firms make to job creation. "I think sometimes we don't credit ourselves with being as entrepreneurial as we are," says CFI president Catherine Swift. "A lot of our national psyche that we consistently undermine ourselves, and yet entrepreneurs are held in very high esteem."

Support for entrepreneurship may also stem from a feeling that the traditional pillars of Canadian economy are gradually

## High on the hog

Percentage of respondents saying their state of being is better than in the other country

Canada	41
U.S.	31

according to foreign domination. Nationally, 79 per cent of those polled say that U.S. investment and business takeovers are making Canadians "more like Americans." And 64 per cent say that in the past few years there has been a decline in Canadian control of businesses operating in this country. The evidence surrounds Canadians in the prominence of such large U.S. retailers as Wal-Mart, Home Depot and Sears.

While in the first nine months of this year, U.S. interests snapped up Canadian companies at twice the purchase rate, 14 per cent of respondents still believe there has been an increase in Canadian control; an equal proportion say there has been no change. But the strong conviction of a decline in Canadian ownership makes Gregg's evidence of drop-sided public unease: "There's a strong sense that we're losing control," he says, "but so far it's an issue that hasn't been engaged by politicians. It's a classic sleeper issue."

Right now, that issue resonates most strongly in English-speaking Canada—and particularly in British Columbia, scene of the recent \$3-billion takeover of formerly guerrilla MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. by Seattle-based Weyer-



## The attraction of a common currency

Percentage of Canadians saying...

Canada would benefit	44
No impact either way	8
Canada would lose out	42

## Inside a Home Depot: a decline in Canadian ownership of our business

butcher Co. Conversely, Quebecers are least likely to say that Canadians are losing control of businesses operating in Canada. Twenty-four per cent of Quebec respondents say there has been an increase in Canadian control in recent years, roughly double the percentage in the rest of the country.

On a related question, 73 per cent of those polled agree that Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada "is an important part of what makes us Canadian." That is less than the percentage of respondents who consider the flag, our climate and our health-care system as important touchstones of national identity, but slightly more than the number who feel that way about hockey, gun control and public broadcasting. "It speaks to a trend we've been aware of in the past few years," says Sullivan. "As other institutions, especially government, have become less important in people's day-to-day lives, business has really gained power and influence. You could even say it's omnipotent."

All of this might lead some observers to conclude that Canadians are in a frosty national mood, determined to keep their distance from the American economic machine. But when it comes to preserving one of the most visible symbols of the Canadian economy, the poll respondents are sharply divided. Asked whether, overall, Canada "would benefit or lose out from having a common currency with the United States," 44 per cent say it would benefit, eight per cent foresee no impact either way. The results were close to evenly split in every province except Quebec, where fully half say a common currency would help Canada and only 35 per cent believe the country would suffer. (The Bloc Québécois is the only federal party on record as supporting a common North American currency.)

How to explain this widespread willingness to see the benefits espoused by the American geopolitical—along with a solid rejection of a political union? No doubt much of it stems from the weakened state of the Canadian dollar and a sense that Canadians are falling behind their American neighbours in material terms. Perhaps, too, like my good neighbour, the U.S. looks supporters are more concerned about risking money—any money—than about the colour that currency happens to be.

## Better times

Percentage saying their personal financial situation has gotten better over the past decade:



Say "better": by Canadian subgroup in 1999

	U.S.	Practices	Detroit	Quebec	Atlantic	Men	Women
44	36	44	29	40	40	44	53

## Assessing free trade

Percentage of Canadians saying...



Canada has benefited more

Same effect in both countries

U.S. has benefited more



Percentage saying these factors had an impact:

America needs such as TV, magazines and firms	84
U.S. investment and takeovers of Canadian business	79
The North American Free Trade Agreement	70



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*Power at the Ship Inn:  
sex to be enjoyed,  
not shopped about*

# Doing It and Enjoying It

By John DeMont in St. John's

**Thursday night** around 10 and the heat is rising at GreenSleevs Pub and Lounge on George Street, smack in the middle of the raucous party quarter in St. John's, Nfld. The scene uncannily resembles the male fantasy world of television beer ads. On the railed dance floor, a sea of women—mostly young, caffed and stylishly dressed—undulates to a Latin beat. In the corner, a knot of recreational-hockey players, just back from the stick, take big puffs on their beers and let out testosterone-fuelled hours as Shania Twain struts across a video screen. Every few seconds, the doors swing open and more people come alone and in groups, swooping the room with their eyes. How they will love it another night! GreenSleevs has a reputation as being one of

**As usual, Newfoundland sets the pace when it comes to sexual activity**

the city's premier meet makers. As the room fills, the statistical probability of making a new friend rises accordingly.

The numbers are already mighty favourable. Dennis, 31, friendly and dark-haired, knows what delights await some who venture out on the town in St. John's. Before recently moving in with a girlfriend, the shipping company employee says he found sex "four or five times a week" in the bars on George Street. Tonight begins with the best of intentions

some hickey; a couple of beers with the boys, then home to the girlfriend. But a brauner in a halter top and tight pants has caught his eye. His lips start to grin, as if moved by some primal urge. Suddenly the night seems to offer a whole new range of possibilities. "We've got a different attitude to sex around here," he says over the din. "You want it, you got it."

It takes more than that than pure male bravado: So many years of *Maclean's* year-end polls suggest there is no Canadian talk as consistently about their libido in such glowing terms as Newfoundlanders. Still, plenty of Islanders question their reputation for sexual prowess. "Not far a distance," scoffs Newfoundland-born Canadian Cathy James, who now lives in Halifax. "Then if it's true, shouldn't they be putting all this energy to use in a better way—like trying to straighten out the economy?" Truth or fiction, the numbers at least are remarkable. This time around, 69 per cent of Newfoundland respondents call themselves sexually active, giving the province bragging rights in a country where the national average is 59 per cent and the nearest rival, Quebec, is six points behind at 63 per cent. There's more: 53 per cent of Newfoundlanders say they are "very satisfied" with their sex lives, far above the 44 per cent nationally; and fully one-quarter in Newfoundland claim to have had sex within the past 24 hours—another top performance, five points above the national average.

Why are Newfoundlanders so hot? Psychologist Elena Rose Hanniff of Memorial University in St. John's calls it the \$84,000 question. "When she recently quizzed her sexual behaviour class—one of the biggest dawns on campus with 315 students—explanations abounded: theousy weather, the isolation, the

province's high unemployment rate, the shortness of rainfall, more leisure and other urban diversions—all of which leave many Newfoundlanders with time to spend in the sack.

Everybody seems to have a theory. Some Newfoundlanders point to the close-knit island way of life—where everyone seems to know everyone else. That, they posit, makes finding new partners easier, and less risky, than on the mainland. (The incidence of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases is significantly lower than the national average.) Others say the easy pace of life on the Rock helps put Newfoundlanders in the mood. "People here do not live by a city clock," points out Roger Harrad. "It's not like most of the industrialized world, where people have to make an appointment with their mate to have sex." Some explanations seem based on culture logic. "It's the diet," said Lloyd, an oil refinery worker, between shows at the Coronation Club's special George Street strip club. "Me and the wife can salt fish, we can rabbit, we can eat—she's a sucker. It makes us all jingly."

And Newfoundland is, after all, a small province that has spawned two famous Playboy playmates: Shannon Tweed, who lived with Hugh Hefner before hooking up with Kenner Gene Simmons and moving on to movie stardom, and Danielle House, who was stripped of her Miss Canada International crown after breaking up her on-boyfriend's girlfriend in a St. John's campus bar in 1996. It's a province where the place names—Dildo, Come By Chance, Conception Bay—sound suggestive. Even the premier, Brian Tobin, has enough sex appeal to make Costelino's 1996 list of Canada's hottest guys.

Perhaps it's because they are so active and sat-

## Dreamland of ecstasy Percentage saying they fantasize about having sex

	Canada	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	West.	Women
10 or more times a day	4	1	4	8	5	3	6	6	4	6	2	7	1
5 to 9 times a day	5	4	3	1	9	5	4	6	6	3	11	1	
2 to 5 times a day	20	20	18	23	19	22	13	13	14	24	22	27	13
Once a day	26	18	23	11	28	30	22	20	19	22	18	30	26
Never	24	26	26	30	29	23	24	25	25	22	27	23	26
Absent	51	30	26	28	19	28	24	33	33	30	28	58	26

\* Most likely to say "10 or more times a day": under 40 years—7 per cent

## Bedroom bravado

Percentage describing themselves as sexually active:

West	65
East	62
Que.	60
N.B.	59
P.E.I.	58
N.S.	56
Ont.	55
Man.	53
Sask.	53
Alta.	52
B.C.	51
West	50
Que.	49
N.B.	48
P.E.I.	47
N.S.	45
Ont.	43
Man.	42
Sask.	41
Alta.	39
B.C.	38

\* Most likely to say they are sexually active aged 18 to 25; 32 per cent of households with incomes of \$10,000 or more—21 per cent

## When the earth moves

Percentage describing themselves "very satisfied" with their sex lives:

West	57
N.B.	53
East	49
P.E.I.	48
N.S.	46
Ont.	43
Man.	42
Sask.	39
Alta.	37
B.C.	31

## Bedroom helpers

Percentage saying they have used erotic materials or sexual aids to enhance their sex lives:

West	21
Alt.	17
West.	16
Man.	12
Grdnlnd	10
Ont.	10
West.	10
Sask.	10
N.S.	9
PEI	8
Man.	7
Sask.	7
West.	7
N.S.	6
PEI	5
West.	5
N.S.	4
PEI	3

\* Most likely to say they have used erotic materials or sexual aids to enhance their sex lives aged 18 to 25; 26 per cent

**Sexual ups and downs** Percentage describing themselves as...

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Very sexually active	12	19	12	11	17	13
Somewhat sexually active	50	49	53	53	46	46
TOTAL ACTIVE	62	68	65	64	70	59
Not very sexually active	17	26	12	17	13	12
Not sexually active at all	13	13	12	18	10	13
TOTAL NOT ACTIVE	30	29	24	30	23	25
Don't know/united	9	11	11	6	7	16



Photo © Getty Images

sified, but Newfoundlanders are less likely than many other Canadians to spend their day fantasizing about sex. While 12 per cent acknowledged having sexual dreams at least 10 times a day, that number pale beside the 30 per cent in Ontario and 6.5 per cent in Manitoba and Prince Edward Island.

Newfoundlanders tick up their imperative numbers without, it seems, any undue reliance on pornography or sex toys. According to the poll, they fall in the middle of the pack nationally when it comes to using porn and erotic aids. Business did slow one recent weekday afternoon at Smoky Videos, the city's only sex videos and aid outlet. After midday, underground periodicals with names like the Love Connoisseur and the Oriental Butler and smouldered racks of films ended. Tasty Cow Cakes and Shemale Adventures. But business has not been brief, says the store's owner, Ed Bolt. He has his eyes set upon the younger generation. "They seem a bit more free, a little less likely to worry about what others think," says Bolt, who emigrated to St. John's from Holland, another place known for its liberal views on sexuality.

On a typical night on George Street, examples of an open attitude seem to surface everywhere. At O'Reilly's Irish pub,

in a crowded bar out old country drinking songs, two friends—Stephanie Horrocks, a 25-year-old cook, and Jason Cranberry, 33, a former fish farmer and exotic dancer—sit at a table in the back of the room, lost in conversation. The subject: their huge collections of pornographic movies and books. Horrocks, who has a boyfriend and claims an active sex life, says she comes by her interest in porn naturally—"both my parents are into it." Cranberry, who sports shoulder-length hair under his seafarer hat and says he once ran for deputy mayor of St. John's, laughs. "We make pornos like *Poldark*."

At the Ship Inn, a popular downtown St. John's pub, visitors can choose from the same beers and food available just about everywhere in Canada. But there are a few other spots where they would find themselves seated at a moon beside a woman who describes herself as a performer of "spoken word erotica." Or where not a single person among the lunchtime crowd would bat an eye at the 59-year-old grandmother, in a perfectly audible voice, reciting poetry that an unscrupulous audience could bring a blush to the most rebellious pop singer. The author, Susan Stanhope, aka Susie Pyrate, says that matters like sex tend to be placed in their proper context in a place like Newfoundland, where many love are lived close to the elements and the poverty line. "Sex is a healthy thing," she says, "to be enjoyed, not felt sheepish about."

But in Newfoundland, sex is not to be taken too seriously either. Hearing that Newfoundlanders once again sink to the sexist Canadian Bill Squires, 66, a divorced St. John's cab driver and father of two, jokes that he is not going to move that he married. Then he adds: "But maybe it depends on how you define sex. Because, let's face it, Newfoundlanders have been getting f---ed since Confederation."

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**Sex by numbers** Percentage saying they had sexual activity with a partner...

Gender	Male	N.S.	F.M.	H.M.	Que.	Dot.	Mar.	Sash.	Aff.	E.C.	Non	Women
Within past 24 hours	13	25	18	16	24	23	16	14	16	20	19	21
Within past week	29	29	30	33	28	34	28	20	25	34	25	34
Middle past two weeks	8	5	5	5	4	8	11	3	6	6	7	1
Within past month	11	4	5	4	4	7	5	3	5	6	5	7
Within past six months	4	3	1	4	4	3	6	1	4	4	2	4
More than six months ago	13	4	13	10	9	13	14	15	10	14	14	9
Never	2	-	3	3	4	2	3	1	1	-	5	2
Refused	26	11	28	24	26	22	36	30	17	28	38	26

\* Most likely to say "Within the past 24 hours", under 40 years—28 per cent.



# The Year of Living Dangerously

In 1999, U.S. takeovers of Canadian companies have 'taken on a disturbing new reality.' The result: 'We have become squatters on our own land.'

By Peter C. Newman



So here we are, at the butt end of the 20th century that was supposed to belong to Canada, only to find that Canada no longer belongs to us.

This was the year the economic places holding the country together shifted, leaving us exposed in never before to having our economic destiny controlled by outsiders. During 1999, what had been a trend became a storm. What had been the occasional incursion of American investors in good Canadian companies with promising potential turned into a fire sale. With our dollar worth 40 per cent less than the American greenback, and a government in Ottawa oblivious to our currency's plight, the sell-off of Canada resembled the liquidation of Earth.

The American takeover of Canadian business is hardly a new phenomenon. In the past dozen years alone, direct American investment in Canada has surpassed \$800 billion. But there's a significant difference between past incursions and the current rapids of assault. Without most Canadians being aware of it, the Americanization of our economy has entered a disturbing new reality. Corporate

takeovers do not necessarily dislodge collective identities. But there comes a point when the invasion of foreign capital takes an qualitative instead of merely quantitative dimension.

This was the year we stepped over that invisible line we now control a smaller portion of our productive wealth than the citizens of any other industrialized country on earth. Instead of the proudly independent nation our founding fathers intended us to be, we find ourselves, on the cusp of the millennium, well on the way to becoming an economic colony of the Americans—self-governing self, but tethered to the Yankee dollar, just the same.

We have become squatters on our own land. In the past 12 months, America's global raiders have moved in and grabbed nearly everything that wasn't nailed down, except Cape Breton and the terminally unprofitable B.C. Ferry fleet. Vacuuming up the best of Canada's corporate assets at an unprecedented rate, they paid more than \$25 billion for 127 companies in the first 11 months of this year—compared with \$16 billion for 121 companies for all of 1998. "Canadian icons are falling like dominoes,"

# Never before has our planet been so directly wired into a single economic power source: the brutal dynamism of American business

completes David O'Brien, chairman of Canadian Pacific Ltd., one of the country's defining corporations, which continues much of its business outside the country but at home remains headquartered in Calgary. "The great Canadian fire sale is under way."

Some of the major victims of 1997's unprecedented American onslaught include the iconic MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. in Vancouver, Post Petrelsens Ltd. and MetroNet Communications Corp. in Calgary; JDS Fitel Inc. in Ottawa and Club Monaco Inc., North America's Ltd., Newcourt Credit Group Inc., Mailand Wahns Inc., Prophetic Jewelers Corp. and Shoppers Drug Mart Ltd. in Toronto. Spar Aerospace Ltd. sold its aircraft division, which earned the Maple Leaf too the stratosphere on the Canadair, to the American-owned McDonnell Douglas Super-patriot Ted Rogers, chairman of Rogers Communications Inc., which owns *Maclean's* among other publications, added a hefty minority interest in his cable network to Bill Gates, the American entrepreneur migrating northward. Even Ma Bell, the most Canadian of corporate icons, sold 30 per cent of itself to Chicago-based Ameritech Corp. for \$5.4 billion. All Canadian telephone companies, once preserved for domestic ownership, are currently under siege. Bell merged its directory assistance operation with Arizona-based EarthLink Global Services in a new company that immediately cut the operators' hourly \$19.50 wage in half.

**Some of our largest** companies remain headquartered in Canada, but have transferred their command posts to the United States. Their lengthening list includes The Scraper Co. Ltd., one of Manulife's corporate mainstays. North America Corp., the \$10-billion king of Canadian high-tech, still maintains its ink-stained headquarters in Brampton, Ont., but is really run out of Dallas. Nova Chemicals Corp., this country's largest independent chemical firm, is moving its headquar ters from Calgary to Pittsburgh. The CEO of Thomson Newspapers Corp., our world-class multimedia shoppe, is also an outsider—Susan Gossman, who works out of Stamford, Conn. From there, the transplanted Brit, currently in charge of the Thomas chain's flagship paper, *The Globe and Mail*, "No, Bernardo isn't the name of a great Canadian chef," a senior staffer recently replied to a query from Fleet Street coffee, now *Globe* editor, Richard Addis. "He's a teller."

Other firms have been Americanized by the transfer of a majority of their stock into U.S. portfolios. Even such flagships Canadian outfit as Canadian National Railway Co. now have more American than Canadian shareholders. CN has been particularly aggressive in going overseas, buying for \$3.5 billion the Illinois Central Railroad, which gives it freight access to U.S. ports on both oceans, as well as the Gulf of Mexico. The move shifts the company's centre of gravity south: 60 per cent of its shareholders are now American.

Canadian stock exchanges are booming, but they are becoming increasingly powerless. Some 225 of the Toronto Stock Exchange's most valuable companies, including Nortel, Four Seasons Hotel Inc. and Inco Corp., are now listed with U.S. exchanges, where the bulk of their trading takes place. It's a sign of the times that more than a quarter of the TSX's once future-minded companies now report their results in U.S. dollars.

These, and the many other incursions into what was once high Canadian territory, are forcing us to face the onrushing of U.S. economic expansionists just as we are experiencing an irrevocable force. Individually, Americans are charming; collectively, they're a menace. Whether they're dispatching human-killer squads into Vietnamese rice paddies or corporate raiders with blow-dried haircuts into Canadian boardrooms, they're always believed in achieving their manifest destiny. It's a winner-take-all philosophy; other guys finish last.

Ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War a decade ago, the United States has transformed itself from an ambitious superpower into a restless empire, more powerful than any since the Roman legions controlled civilization. No one dare challenge America's supremacy. Never before has our planet been so directly wired into a single economic power source:



## Essay

to provide over the dissolution of the country's economy.

Under such an unisiting regime, this country will inevitably be reduced to a slightly blighted extension of corporate America's northern sales territory. "To us," Jacques Moneroy, the former head of IBM's European and Asia operations, once patiently explained to me, "the boundary separating Canada from the United States is no more significant than the equator—just a line on maps, devoid of meaning."

**Although it seriously accelerated during 1995,** the race to take over Canadian business received its most significant impetus from the Free Trade Agreement, which came into effect on Jan. 1, 1989. Trade between the two countries has since then doubled since it now totals a daily \$1.3 billion, compared with about \$500 million a day in 1988. But in the process, the FTA really weakened Canada's economic and from east-west to north-south. Instead of prospering due to our founding metaphor of a bounteous land stretching from sea to sea, our drifting horizon now faces due south.

The FTA, later strengthened by the more widely ranging 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement, has placed this country into the jaws of a magnet that has transformed the very essence of being Canadian. We have, willy-nilly, become less the citizens of a country than of a continent.

The current foreign investment climate flows directly from the nature of most free trade agreements. Aimed at eliminating

tariffs, they seldom respect those original boundaries. As their economies converge, the free trade pattern capsule into other more intimate formats. These can range from customs unions to common markets and economic unions, allowing various degrees of free movement of people and money. The most dramatic recent example is, of course, the economic integration of Europe, complete with its plan for a common currency plus unification of monetary, fiscal and social policies among its founding members. Only one step remains beyond such a cozy bonding: political integration. And that won't be far behind. In a Aug. 30, 1995, speech in Frankfurt, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder declared: "The introduction of the common European currency was in no way just an economic decision. Monetary union is demanding that we Europeans press ahead resolutely with political integration."

That's what makes the prospect of a common currency between Canada and the United States so frightening. In mostly Canadian academic advocates insist it would guarantee monetary stability, allow us a better shot at buying out American firms and raise Canadian standard of living by saving interest costs on our national debt. Perhaps. But we would also be sacrificing what's left of our independence. Countries that share currencies require roughly equal debt-to-GDP ratios; any such move would wipe out Ottawa's remaining social pro-

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## We have a government content to preside over the dissolution of the country's economy

grams, including medicare. "A common currency would turn Canada into another Montana or South Dakota," warns Senator Jack Austin, who has studied the issue. "But God bless Alan Greenspan, who keeps reminding us that any other country using Yankee greenbacks must understand that its Federal Reserve Board policies must serve the interests of the United States. That should warn us off any such terms." (Senate to have a stuffy Washington banker with Buddy Holly glasses cast as guardian of Canadian sovereignty.) Self-preservation advocates fear surmounting an even greater challenge of our sovereignty continues to be headed. Raymond Charette,



D'Agostino, Geddes, Gauvin: globalisation was supposed to widely profit for all—exceed, at normal rate to be Americanisation, period.

who speaks both as Canadian ambassador to Washington and as the PM's nephew, has called for a current mission that would harmonize the two economies and "solidify our future together," whatever that means.

What it means is that the debate about American dominance over Canada is taking on far more dangerous directions than merely economic takeover. Under a common union, the basic tenet of our nationhood—our culture—would be at stake. Despite nearly 135 years of trying to build an consonant, non-American a purify culture, penetrable and unshaped, American culture, in contrast, is the United States' most successful commercial export. Hollywood, for example, generates most of its films in home markets, raking in profits from foreign

distribution. That's why government-imposed exceptions that limit unpreserved access of cultural exports are regarded by Washington as the equivalent of a declaration of war.

That was the issue during last summer's dispute over Wchnad's right to the canals of the St. Lawrence. It had been sighted in the crucible of the struggle to make American culture so predominant that none others can endure. Washington was determined to win access for its print magazines (U.S. publications with Canadian advertising content), because if we stopped them, other countries might wake up their nerve to try the same.

Washington need not have worried. Merely threatening retaliation was enough to persuade the Chrétien government to fold, risking the future of Canadian engineers in the process. "There's a difference between compromise and collapse," former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed told me recently. "And Ottawa collapsed."

**Next on the list** was supposed to be a federal initiative to ensure a Canadian presence on the Internet, the most important medium of the 21st century. The CRTC neatly avoided that battle before it was joined by unilaterally declaring that Web pages in this country will require no Canadian content rules. Nacho.

These two recent examples illustrate how difficult, if not impossible, it is to resist against further intrusions of American influence. Anything we attempt to do to assert our sovereignty—economic, cultural or political—will be brought to a standstill by the empire to the south of us. The conquest of any nation takes place not on battlefields or in boardrooms, but within the hearts of its people and the minds of their leaders. Conquest requires surrender. The U.S. takeover of Canada owes less to American strength than to Canadian weakness. It is happening because at this crucial juncture in our history, we are led by a politician with only one priority: his government's re-election. That he might find himself presiding over a hollowed-out nation-state, no longer in charge of itself, has never entered his mind.

Grieving for my country, at this midnight hour before the next millennium—left with the fugitive senseless of a lifespan cut short—I am reminded of that long-ago cry from the heart of another beleaguered American neighbour, former president Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. "So far from God . . . so near to the United States!"

My other memory is the audience outburst of chief U.S. trade representative Clayton Yeutter, at a White House signing ceremony of the Free Trade Agreement. "We've signed a stunning new trade pact with Canada," he gushed. "The Canadians don't know what they've signed. In 20 years, they'll be sucked into the U.S. economy."

Clayton Yeutter was wrong. It didn't take 20 years. ■

### Swallowing Canadian companies

Value of U.S. acquisitions of Canadian companies (in billions)



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# Ring in the Millennium!

Across Canada, teams of experts will watch for Y2K computer bugs on New Year's Eve

By Gwen Smith and D'Arcy Jersch

**M**ayor Paul Bolash picked up his fire alarm for a break at a garage sale, while many of his colleagues at CFB Kingston learned other versions of the hoisted coining machine. "No, the army has not developed a sudden interest in ancient coins." These soldiers are members of *Operations Abacus*—the massive military initiative that oversees 1,200 Canadian Forces personnel. On Dec. 31, the Abacus team will be fully entrenched in an Ottawa command-and-control post and at fire command centres across the country. As the clock nears midnight, they will be watching computer screens intently to see if the alarm bells—*and all the intricate efforts to hold the Y2K computers bug-free*—will go off.

Estimates of the amount spent in Canada as that computer will calculate the year after 1999 to 2000 range from \$20 billion to \$50 billion. All essential systems are said to be fixed, but the Ottawa command-and-control centre will be the ready—with the troops on standby—just in case.

Across the country, she will be the man-voiced New Year's Eve and Day air raid. Thousands of state police, hydro workers, bankers, telephone operators, nurses and firefighters will be on duty—with many more on call—prepared for the event that Y2K malfunctions attempt to cause a few computer blips. Macleish spoke to *Canadian* as key visitors who will not have time to sit champagne on the most-watched, most-anticipated New Year's in history.

## MARGARET DE GRACE

*Disaster response planning co-coordinator, Vancouver Hospital*

Talk about triple-whammy potential. While de Grace and the other four members of the hospital's emergency response group watch for Y2K glitches, they must also keep a wary eye on the threat. A healthy into-New Year's concert will ding the 65,000 Kiss fans and, not least, the bars will open until 3 a.m.

Things could get闹dy. But de Grace, 52, says hospitals and police in the Vancouver area have been highly co-ordinated for emergencies ever since the Stanley Cup win of June, 1994. The important medical attention will be on the hospital's computers; a message goes out just before midnight to log off all machines, except those running medical equipment. Twenty minutes later, if all is well, the networks will be phased back online. On the home front, de Grace's own message daughter will be partying with friends while her husband helps out as a volunteer at the hospital. But even an emergency group needs a celebration of sorts. At midnight, says de Grace, her team will be holding a 60-second party himself—"then it's back to work."

## RIC BENTKOWSKI

*Director, Y2K 2000 Project, Canadian Airlines*

No one will be watching the clock more nervously on New Year's Eve than airline managers. Neither Air Canada nor Canadian Airlines will have any domestic flights in the set of midnight. But Air Canada will have three flights heading to Europe at that hour and Canadian will have one en route to Asia and one to Europe. Bertrandella, 67, who has run Canadian's Y2K preparation program for the past two years, will spend the night at the airline's operations-control centre at Calgary International Airport where he will monitor information about airline and airport operations as it flows in via satellite from around the world. His wife and two children pass the evening quietly at home. Bertrandella will stay on duty until at least midday on Jan. 1. "When I'm convinced this is a non-event," he says, "I'll go home, pop open the champagne, and enjoy the matinees like everyone else."

## PETER MANSBRIDGE

*Chief correspondant for CBC-TV's The National*

CBC-TV and CBC Newsradio will broadcast live for 26 hours straight, starting at 6:30 a.m. Toronto time on Dec. 31,



Cpl. Richard Major (left) and Doug McGrover with Warrant Officer Ron Kishine in Operation Abacus map room in Ottawa. Silverberg (below) is everything ready?

## MICHAEL FOULKES

*Executive vice-president and chief information officer, TD Bank Financial Group*

He calls himself "a paranoid optimist," confident that customers will have no trouble on Jan. 1 retrieving their money from Giro Machines and using credit and debit cards. Foulkes, 43, has led Toronto Dominion's \$100-million Y2K effort and will have as many as 300 extra staff on duty across the country from Dec. 31 to Jan. 5. From the bank's Toronto headquarters, Foulkes will switch closely in the year 2000 between 13 to 18 hours earlier in New Zealand, Japan and Australia. Through its Australian subsidiary, TD will be on the ground in Melbourne and Sydney, with employees using ATM card readers making debit-card purchases in the wee hours of Jan. 1. Foulkes' crew will watch as those transactions hit the computers in Canada. "Testing in Europe, the Canadians will follow as a succession of midnights sweeps across the same zones. While Foulkes would be with his wife and two kids to greet a new century, TD staff are certainly planning parties for January and February"—in celebration, they hope, a big fire in 2000.

## CHRISTINE SILVERBERG

*Calgary chief of police*

At 11:30 p.m. on Dec. 31, Silverberg will be on stage at Olympic Plaza, watching that sprawling Calgary's big New Year's festival "a safe maximum overrought." By 11:45, she'll leave her husband and two children at the paper and head to the emergency operations centre, or EOC. There, Silverberg, 36, will join police, fire, utility, transit and health workers to watch what happens as the clock strikes midnight. On the streets, her uniform will be out in force: 365 officers, double the number who worked last New Year, will be on duty. They are ready for anything from Y2K-bug disruptions—such as lights or heat going out—to out-of-control celebrations. Under a program called Community Action in Response to Emergencies (CARE), this has become one part black wash. Many Calgarians have learned from widely circulated videotapes how to organise groups of 20 to 25 houses and how to prepare for an emergency. "The idea is that if any emergency service is swamped," says Silverberg, "the community could take care of itself." Y2K sparked all this actioning, but Calgary will now be ready for future ones. "This," she says, "has been a very positive spinoff." ■



# A Y2K checklist

Experts say Canadians should treat this New Year's Eve like any other potential winter emergency. Below are some precautions they suggest prudent citizens take.

## Kitchen needs to have on hand:

- ✓ A three-day supply of food and water
- ✓ A litre of drinking water per person per day for three days, as well as extra water for cooking and cleaning
- ✓ Canned food and dry goods that do not need to be cooked, such as baked beans, tuna, cansicles and peanut butter
- ✓ Disposible cups and plates; a manual can opener and a bottle opener
- ✓ Have alternate cooking equipment available, such as an outdoor barbecue



## Household essentials to organize:

- ✓ Flashlights and spare batteries
- ✓ A battery-operated radio for news bulletins
- ✓ Candles and waterproof matches or a lighter
- ✓ A first-aid kit
- ✓ At least one week's supply of medication and copies of prescriptions
- ✓ Warm blankets or sleeping bags
- ✓ Dry wood for a fireplace
- ✓ Gas up the car
- ✓ If the garage door is electric, consider parking the car outside
- ✓ At least a few days' cash on hand, including coins for a pay telephone
- ✓ Up-to-date paper records of all financial transactions; save the most recent statements and current withdrawal and deposit receipts



## What, us worry?

While governments and information systems leaders are at pains not to say anything that might panic Canadians, Environics Research Group reports the overall level of Y2K concern has been falling all year. The number of Canadians who will personally prepare for the arrival of 2000 has also

## Canadian attitudes:

Concerned about Y2K	27%
Very concerned	4%

dropped—it is now just 30 per cent, and many of those people will only start just before the year ends.

Patricia Trubl

## Eying the East

All eyes are going to be on New Zealand and Australia, the developed countries that will greet Jan. 1 before the rest of the technology-dependent world. (At midnight in Auckland, it will be 7 a.m. on Dec. 31 in Halifax.) Governments, agencies and companies around the globe will be monitoring whatever impact the Y2K bug has in the South Pacific. If all that official watching and worrying do not stave the Internet to a crawl, there are some Web sites to help gauge the early experience:

New Zealand's  
Y2K Readiness Commission  
<http://www.y2k.govt.nz>

Australian government's  
Year 2000 Web site  
<http://www.year2000.gov.au>

Closer to home, there are Web sites with information on Y2K preparations:

Government of Canada  
<http://www.info2000.gc.ca>

Emergency Preparedness Canada  
<http://www.epe-peo.gc.ca/>

The federal government hotline—**1-800-2-Canada**—has dedicated some operators to the year 2000 issue.



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# IMAGES 99

## Hail and Farewell



ADRIENNE CLARKSON AND HER HUSBAND, John Ralston Saul, waved to the crowds on Parliament Hill following her investiture as Canada's 26th Governor General. In Edmonton, it was a family affair for Wayne Gretzky when his famous Edmonton Oilers jersey, with its signature No. 99, was retired in an emotionally charged ceremony at the Skyreach Centre (opposite). With him were wife Janet (centre), surrounded by his parents, Walter and Phyllis, and children Trevor, 7 (front left), Paulina, 10, and Ty, 9.

The last year of the century was brimful of inspiration, sadness—and war

**T**here was never much black-and-white this most tumultuous of centuries would go out with a whimper. The 20th closed as it opened: with political traumas in the globe's remote corners, and people alternately dazzled and perplexed by great technological changes swirling around them. All the century's hallmarks were present. The shame of its inhumanity, so achingly visible in the eyes of refugees from wars in Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya. The marvels of its ingenuity, evidenced by the galloping growth of the Internet and the mapping of the human genetic code. And the enduring fascination with that 20th-century religion: celebrity. But the world in 1999 was a far more intimate place than it had been at the century's dawn. The global circuitry is



## 'We didn't come here for fun. We were forced out of Kosovo.'

—Fani Hishmene, 50, a Kosovar Albanian refugee in Canada

so complex and interconnected that Canada could not avoid the blessing of far-off misdeeds even if it hoped to.

And so Canadian pilots flew bombing runs last spring over a contested Yugoslav province, where almost a whole people was expelled from its homes into mud and misery on the basis of its Albanian ethnicity. When Slobodan Milosevic's marauding forces finally withdrew after 78 days and nights of bombing, fear the mightiest military alliance ever assembled, Canadian peacekeepers arrived to help police the chaotic aftermath. A smaller band of Canadian blue berets did the same a few months later, landing in the thick jungle heat of East Timor to try to restore a modicum of control to a province that had been turned to tinder. And Canadians felt the ripples from the economic ambitions gripping China's Fujian province, as some of the hundreds of thousands of Chinese trying to amass themselves to the West washed up on rocky British Columbia shores.

But there were troubles in my corner at home, too, some of them also rooted in ancient and ethnic causes. The harbour village of Burnt Church, N.B., became the latest flash point between native and non-native Canadians after the Supreme Court recognized the validity of a 239-year-old treaty guaranteeing Mi'kmaq Indians the right to fish. Much, however, 1999 was quiet at home. Provincial elections produced some new faces, notably New Brunswick's baby-faced Bernard Lord and Manitoba's fourth-time-lucky Gary Doer. The Parn Qualico government fired the occasional ceremonial bullet but little more, while Jean Chrétien led off how Ottawa would react to any future referendums. Above all, there were reasons to quietly celebrate being Canadian in the extraordinary adventures of Julie Payette in the frigid birth of a new territory—Nanavut, "Our Land" in Inuit; and in the appointment of Chinese-Canadian immigrant Adrienne Clarkson as the 25th Governor General, who quickly injected life and energy into the sleepy ceremonial post.

It was also a year when many souls passed from being part of our lives to part of our memories. Wayne Gretzky retired from realms to pastures; Michael Jordan was finally grounded, while Nelson Mandela left office to return to his boyhood village. Maple Leaf Gardens closed with serenely grace, Ratatat won the indulgence of a fair-weather, and Canadian Airlines vacuuumed at last, swallowed by Air Canada, as bitter eastern rival. They faded as a calendar-century expired, giving way to a new one yet to draw up its own heroes and glories and tragedies, its innocence still unbroken.

Bruce Wallace



A McKenna at Burnt Church, N.B., defied non-native fishermen in a hot dispute over the lobster catch

**178,400**

Prescriptions issued for Vigo in first three months after Canada approved it



Fear and fatigue overcome a Kosovar Albanian refugee as she and thousands of others were driven from their homeland by Serbian soldiers.

Canadian peacekeepers went there and to violence-wracked East Timor, where Vanuatu stormed ashore (right). U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talked with voters in aptly named Clinton, N.Y. (far right), prior to announcing her candidacy for the same U.S. Senate that acquitted her husband in the Monica Lewinsky scandal.





IMAGES 99

# The End of the Road

Eaton's went bankrupt, Glen Clark fell and the Chinese boat people risked their lives. On an Alberta commune, the road led to tragedy.



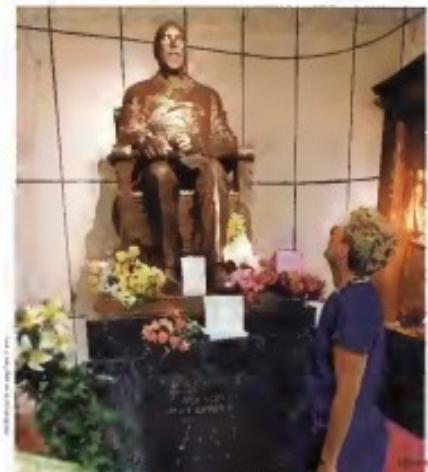
**'In time we're going to realize that we're raising a reckless generation'**

—Alberta sect leader Wiebo Ludwig



After months at sea, four rusty ships carrying nearly 600 Chinese arrived on the B.C. coast, causing a storm over Canada's refugee policy. In Winnipeg, a shopper took a last look at the statue of founder Timothy Eaton (below), before the retail chain folded after 130 years.

Normally loquacious ex-preacher Wiebo Ludwig, with sons Levi and Caleb, spoke cautiously following the fatal shooting of a 16-year-old girl on his communal ranch near Beaverlodge, Alta. (top left). B.C. Premier Glen Clark faced in his East Vancouver home during an RCMP raid on his house (left), he later resigned although no charges were laid.



**7.92 million**  
New phone numbers created when Alberta added its 780 area code in January

# High Achievers



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed strong-willed women to three of the country's biggest jobs

Born in Pincher Creek, Alta., 56-year-old Beverley McLachlin became the first female chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada after serving on that nation's top court for 10 years.

**'I ask you to embark on a journey with me'**

—Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson during her investiture

UN war crimes prosecutor Louise Arbour, 52, indicted Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milošević, then came home to be a Supreme Court justice



**\$43,200**  
Average household debt of Canadians on Jan. 1, surpassing average disposable income (\$42,600) for the first time

Former broadcaster Adrienne Clarkson, 60, took her place with husband John Polson Saul as she was installed as Governor General and friends predicted—as a sparkling hostess extraordinaire for Canada.



**'My friends started saying it's probably like that thing Colorado'**

—Megan Groulx, 13, outside W. R. Myers High School in Taber, Alta.



# Terror at School

A tragic series of shootings across North America shocked parents and led them to re-examine how they handle their kids



Residents of Taber, Alta., rushed to W. R. Myers High School after a 14-year-old gunman calmly entered the building and opened fire, fatally shooting one 17-year-old and injuring another. The incident was widely seen as a copycat outburst, coming eight days after the massacre at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., when two teenagers stormed in and opened fire. Friends signed the coffin of a Littleton student who was among 13 who died (top left). In Los Angeles, authorities led children out of a Jewish community centre (left) after an anti-Semitic gunman walked in, fired off 70 rounds, and wounded a receptionist, a 16-year-old girl and three boys.

**8.7 million**  
Instant background checks carried out in first year on ILS gun purchases, stopping 180,000



'This was supposed to be the happiest day of my life'

—Sophie Rhys-Jones,  
shortly before her wedding,  
after a tabloid published an  
old photo of her topless



IMAGES 99

# Power Couples

Some got together,  
some broke up,  
some did business  
and some just  
danced



Prince Edward and Sophie Rhys-Jones rode through Windsor Castle after their low-key royal wedding (top). Onex Corp. owner Gerald Schwartz and his wife, bookkeeper Heather Wilson, bresleested as he tried, and failed, to get Air Canada and Canadian Airlines under his wing.



Pamela Anderson Lee raised eyebrows as well as husband Tommy's trench coat after they reconciled (below). Prince Charles tangoed with a local dancer in Argentina (left). Bank of Montreal chairman Matthew Barrett, 55, split with the bank and his wife of less than two years, Anne-Marie Sten, 44 (above left).

**9.6 billion**  
Pieces of postal  
mail sent in Canada  
in a year, a drop of  
two billion from  
five years ago



# When Danger Is Everywhere

The Earth turned savage in Taiwan and Turkey, while a Kurdish rebel and Israel's new leader faced enemies made in war



Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdullah Ocalan was captured by agents in Kenya and returned to Turkey, where he was sentenced to death for the murder of Turks killed by his rebels (left). Later in the year, rescue workers pulled an injured woman from the rubble after a disastrous earthquake in Turkey that killed 17,000 people (top).

**'It is not possible to reach all of them'**

—Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, on the quake victims



Buildings fell like toys in Taiwan when an earthquake rocked Taiwan, killing nearly 2,000 people (above). Peace-minded Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak prayed at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem following his landslide victory over hawk Benjamin Netanyahu.

AP/Wide World



**6 billion**  
Population of the world as of Oct. 12, according to UN estimates



A hockey era ended when Wayne Gretzky retired after his last game as a New York Ranger and 20 glittering years in the NHL. A marketing era may have begun when American Brandi Chastain nipped off her jersey and revealed her Nike sports bra after scoring the championship-winning goal at the 1999 women's soccer World Cup (igniting

# Winning Memories



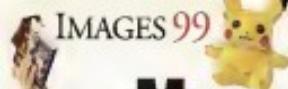
**'OK, I miss it—cripes, I really miss it . . . I miss it drastically'** —Wayne Gretzky on hockey

**I miss it drastically** — Wayne Gretzky on hockey



\$3.05 million (U.S.)

Amateur Calgary-born entrepreneur Todd McFarlane paid for baseball slugger Mark McGwire's record-setting 70th home-run ball.



# Monster Hits

Kids dominated entertainment. But there was also Diana



Those mischievous Pokémon masters beguiled children and delighted retailers across the country. Canadian hip-hop superstar Deborah Cox (right) rode the wave of music's fastest-growing genre to major U.S. success. The legend of Star Wars lived on in *The Phantom Menace* (top, far right), starring Liam Neeson and Ewan McGregor. And Scarborough, Ont.-born Mike Myers partied on with Heather Graham (centre right), as he brought back his James Bond spoof character Austin Powers in *The Spy Who Shagged Me*. Grrrr, baby.



**'Wherever the kids are, Pokémon is there, too'**

—By industry writer Christopher Byrne



Sultry jazz star Diana Krall's new CD, *When I Look In Your Eyes*, went platinum, selling more than 100,000 copies in Canada—mainly to grown-ups

**49%**  
Portion of Canadian households with at least one person using the Internet

# Those We Lost

There were desert kings and American royalty, talented writers and the man who was Montreal

**King Hussein of Jordan**, 63, modernizing monarch and playboy;

**Whudi Measheka**, 82, master concert violinist;

**George C. Scott**, 71, Hollywood actor (*Patton*),

**Akiko Menta**, 76, visionary co-founder of Japan's Sony Corp.

**Dusty Springfield**, 48, pop singer (*I Only Want to Be with You*);

**Stanley Kubrick**, 70, filmmaker (*2001: A Space Odyssey*);

**Wilt Chamberlain**, 63, basketball star known as "Wilt the Stilt";

**Dick Begeerde**, 70, British actor (*Doctor in the House*) and writer;

**Iris Murdoch**, 79, British author (*The Sea, the Sea*);

**Brian Moore**, 77, Belfast-born author (*The Luck of Ginger Coffey*) who moved to Canada and later the United States;

**Robert Clothier**, 77, actor who played Rele on CBC-TV's *The Deadbeaters*;

**Arthur Irvin**, 96, diplomat and publisher who earlier spent 25 years at Macmillan, and was its editor from 1945 to 1950;

**Camille Laurin**, 76, creator of Quebec's language law;

**Berry Sosen**, 73, one of Canada's leading composers (opera *Louis Riel*);

**Allen Mellland**, 78, co-host of CBC Radio's *As It Happens* for 19 years;

**Gratien Gelinas**, 82, known as the father of modern Quebec theatre;

**Percy Jones**, 76, Newfoundland novelist (*House of Hertz*);

**Marcia Pöhl**, 57, journalist and CBC ambassador;

**Michael Harrington**, 62, New England writer and historian;

**Bryce Mackayne**, 78, Trudeau-era cabinet minister;

**Oliver Reed**, 61, British actor (*Women in Love*);

**Mel Torme**, 75, lounge singer known as the "Velvet Fog";

**BeForest Kelley**, 79, actor who played "Bones," the doctor in the *Star Trek* TV and movie series; **Victor Metzger**, 66, Hollywood actor (*Sansone and Delila*);

**Anthony Newley**, 67, British musical composer and actor;

**Ali Hirsi**, 76, Doxiean trumpeter;

**Wayne Atzne**, 61, singer-songwriter (*Joy to the World*) and actor;

**Gene Siskel**, 53, film critic paired with Roger Ebert ("Two thumbs up");

**Marie Peacock**, 78, author of *The Godmother*;

**Jennifer Peterson**, 71, co-star of British cooking show *Two Fat Ladies*;

**Walter Payton**, 45, former National Football League star running back;

**Quebec Hart**, 33, Calgary-born professional wrestler;

**John Ehrlichman**, 73, adviser to president Richard Nixon and a key figure in the Watergate scandal;

**Julius Nyerere**, 72, former Tanzanian president and African statesman;

**Joséphine Nkombo**, 82, former president of Zimbabwe and ex-guerrilla leader;

**King Hassan II**, 70, of Morocco, ruler for 38 years;

**Rainer Gerharter**, 67, stylist wife of former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev;

**Hugh Casson**, 89, British architect and mentor to Prince Charles;

**(Screaming) Lord David Sutch**, 58, eccentric leader of the British Manster Raving Loony Party;

**David Ogilvy**, 85, founder of advertising firm Ogilvy & Mather;

**George Papadopoulos**, 86, Greek dictator from 1964 to 1974;

**Paul Muldoon**, 61, U.S. philanthropist and banking heir;

**Henry Blochman**, 90, retired U.S. Supreme Court justice who wrote the 1973 decision legalizing abortion;



**JEAN DRPEAU**, 83  
Former Montreal mayor who presided over Expo 67 and the debt-ridden 1976 Olympics



**JOE DIMAGGIO**, 84  
Baseball star and legendary gentleman, married for nine months to Marilyn Monroe;



**GREG MOORE**, 24  
Speedway motorcycle racer from Maple Ridge, B.C., who crashed at 350 km/h



**'Hi. I'm John.'**

—John F. Kennedy Jr.'s standard greeting, de-emphasizing his background

**JOHN F. KENNEDY JR.**, 38, AND CAROLYN BESETTE KENNEDY, 33

They were often seen as New York City's most glamorous pair, he the son of a legendary president, always remembered for that laughing funeral salute, she the well-born achiever with a beauty to match his. Kennedy tried to downplay his background and get on with editing *George* magazine, but many Americans believed they had lost a future leader.



**JACK WEBSTER**, 80  
Vancouver sports-line broadcaster known for his gruff Scottish wit and campaigns for ordinary folk;

# Challenging the Separatists

Parliament will decide if a referendum question meets the Supreme Court's tests

By Bruce Wallace

**T**hey are a strange pair in many ways, these two Quebecers of different generations who share the conviction that their province belongs in Canada. Palme has never been a scientist for Jean Charest. He has forged his remarkable political career by following the call of his heart and his gut. Sébastien Dion, on the other hand, is a political scientist by profession, whose arguments are reached by methodical analysis and are conditioned by a life focused in academia, not politics. But ever since Charest decided after the near-death experience of the 1995 referendum to bring Dion into his cabinet, the two men have bonded into what are Charest's fond calls "almost father-son relationships." Dion operates in a manner unlike any other cabinet minister. Most of them rarely pick up the phone to call Charest and, when they do, usually keep the conversation private. But Dion is on the phone with the PM all the time, arguing strategy and telling him what's on his mind, formulating his thoughts as he goes along.

Yet, for the moment at least, this unusual partnership has Quebec's separatists on the run. Just as they promised, Charest and Dion tabled a draft bill in the House of Commons last week, setting out conditions under which Ottawa would negotiate the breakup of the country following a referendum won by its forces. The bill was drawn directly from the language of the 1996 Supreme Court of Canada opinion, which said Ottawa must enter into such negotiations—but only if the Yes side was a clear majority on a clear question along Quebec's whether they wish to leave Canada. In doing so, the Charest Liberals took the risk of acknowledging Canada is indeed divisible. But they contend the federation cannot be broken by a Quebec government wrangling a Yes vote from Quebecers on an ambiguously worded question. "Never will the government of Canada separate without a clear question," an animated, combative Dion told a news conference in Ottawa after tabling the bill. "Never."

The draft bill spells out Ottawa's ground rules for secession in meeker terms, a hallmark of Charest's style. It declares that a simple majority of 50 per cent plus one is not enough to trigger separation, although it never spells out what percentage would be enough. "We'll know a clear majority when



Bouchard and Chrétiens in Quebec City on Dec. 10 legislative to require a clear question and a clear majority.

we see it," is essentially Ottawa's position. Although Chrestien preferred to specify a number—the PM personally liked the sound of 66 per cent, sources say—the idea was abandoned after legal advisors warned him it was moving further than the Supreme Court allowed. At any rate, Dion admitted, "you cannot hold people in a country against its will."

Just as well the specifics were dropped, and other advisors they wanted a political fight over the size of the majority would distract from the real value of the legislation: its insistence that any future referendum be unambiguous. The draft bill declared that, within 30 days of a provincial government officially phrasing a referendum question on secession, the House of Commons would want to decide whether the question was clear. Chrestien and Dion were careful to insist that Ottawa would not write the question itself. There is a fair consensus that the right to ask a referendum question resides exclusively with the provincial national assembly. And Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard said on Dec. 10 he would introduce a bill reaffirming Quebec's exclusive right to set the rules, calling Ottawa's move "a stain on Canada's democratic separation in the eyes of the international community."

None of that fazed Chrestien. "They have a referendum, they ask a crooked question—fine, so what? There will be no negotiations," was his characteristically blunt retort. In more legal terms, Ottawa's bill says it would not consider a question to be clear if it asked for a "mandate to negotiate," as held out the promise of an economic partnership with the rest of Canada. A clear question, Chrestien and Dion said, would have to explicitly state Quebec's desire to leave Canada.

**Surprisingly,** there are some in Bouchard's Parti Québécois who agree. Chrestien's deputy premier, Bernard Landry, claimed that day, suggesting the PQ held the next row on the question of "Quebec joining the concert of nations." But other separatists are still looking for a win-win on that old 1976 chestnut, "sovereignty association." "The objective should be achieving sovereignty," Bouchard said, trying to line up with Landry but he added: "Contrary to what I was, there are some people who would want to separate the nation of partnership from sovereignty. So yes, there are lively

discussions within the party." And between separatist parties as well. The Bloc Québécois added to the confusion by signalling at one point that it believed the Commons also had a legitimate role in evaluating the clarity of the question and the result.

Separation may have been derailed and confused by the federal pressure, but as usual they did not want for courage. Quebec Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Joseph Facal complained that "Ottawa, inspired by a Soviet-style law, is trying to impose a real monolithic on Quebec's political future." Landry noted that "Quebec forms a nation, as truly in Scotland form a nation and Catalonia forms a nation," before lining up an equally colorful historical distinction by comparing Ottawa's treatment of Quebec to Madrid's denial of Catalonian aspirations during the Franco dictatorship of Gen. Francisco Franco. Landry's comments seemed particularly inappropriate in a week when both Chrestien and Jacques Parizeau were defending themselves in a Montreal libel trial against inventors and/or Richard Lafferty in a 1993 newsletter. Lafferty blamed the two professors' tactics to Adolf Hitler's.

But Dion and Chrestien had everyone scratching its head in their blarney. Opposition leader Preston Manning complained in press conference by declaring his Reform party would support the Liberal bill—although the Alberta populist estimated 50 per cent plus one should be enough to win a referendum. That was also—sort of—the position of Quebec Liberal Leader Jean Charest, who conceded to my 50 plus one is technically good enough to settle but thoroughly impractical. Chrestien, a fierce critic of Chrestien's decision to go to the Supreme Court for legal guidance, gashed last week that the court opinion was "full of wisdom."

National unity politicians can be slippery, of course, and Chrestien and Dion might not hold their advantage for long. But they may just have succeeded in reframing the debate. The term "clarity" has now entered the lexicon and will not be easily extinguished. And after more than two years of preparing the groundwork for last week's strike, in excess misfired Chrestien finds fault in his own mistakes. He chose to handwritten a speech on the subject, which he delivered to the party's Quebec Hall, a few weeks ago, the first time his advisers remember him doing so in his long political career. He is "pumped up," they say, the phrasing connoting happy to be carrying the packagage, with Dion on his wing, the intellectual enhance causing space. ■

# A plan to spare rare lives

Ottawa stresses carrots instead of sticks to save endangered wildlife

By John Geddes

**Grant Fahlman**, 51, has lived his whole life on the farm 25 km southeast of Regina where his family settled when they came from Russia in 1889, and this year was the first in his memory that no burrowing owls raised their broods at his pasture. "We had one come around last spring for a couple of weeks, and then it was gone," Fahlman says. "It's a great disappointment." That sense of loss has been felt in recent years by many others who are fond of the little owl with the long legs. A decade ago, Fahlman and other farmers who participate in a program called Operation Burrowing Owl counted 657 breeding pairs in Saskatchewan. This year, just 79 pairs were sighted. Researchers blame everything from the loss of wild grassland habitat to the raddoll of owls flying low over Prairie highways.

Now, federal protection for the burrowing owl—and 338 other species of wildlife considered at risk in Canada—is finally on the way. Macdonald has learned that Environment Minister

David Anderson, who is expected to present long-awaited endangered-species legislation to the House of Commons in February, will outline his plan in Calgary on Dec. 17. It is the Liberal government's second try at such a law. The first attempt, a bill introduced by former environment minister Sergio Marchi three years ago, met stiff opposition from both industry and environmental groups, and was allowed to die before the 1997



Burrowing owl. Anderson: a balance between industry and the environment

election. Chances of success this time seem better. Unlike Marchi's bill, which put the onus on penalties and court actions against farmers, loggers and others who propagate rare wildlife, Anderson will sweeten his package with money for those who help save valuable species. "I don't think there's a cheap fix," he said in an interview last week, "but [Finance Minister] Paul Martin is a very sympathetic guy on this issue."

Although Anderson was cautious about revealing details of the proposed law in advance, government officials and outsiders who have been consulted expect him to lean heavily towards

using federal funds to coax co-operation between conservationists and industries. In some cases, incentives to safeguard key habitats will be offered to land users—perhaps including farmers who agree not to till areas where burrowing owls find the sheltered gopher holes and budget dens they live in. Still, there's no doubt the law will again hold the heavy stick of fines and perhaps jail sentences should any obscure land user who defies efforts to protect a vital area. Warned Anderson: "If there's one very mean fellow who has refused to work with his neighbour, has refused appropriate compensation



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# Canada

Farmers and cattlemen are wary that would-be saviors of wildlife might provoke legal disputes

sooner, we then have to have some way of saying we're not going to let him do it."

That's where those who are suspicious of any endangered-species act, Alberta rancher David Wildman, president of the Western Stockgrowers' Association, predicts some ranchers will keep wildlife hawks off their land out of fear that discovery of rare birds, animals or even plants could lead to restrictions on grazing—and ultimately costly legal clashes with the feds. He argues ranchers do not need to be told how to be good conservationists. "If we abuse that grassland," Wildman declares, "then it's a down-hill slide for us." Lazarus Jones, director of environmental studies for the right-leaning Fraser Institute in Vancouver, contends Anderson should walk away from the plan to legislate, and instead funnel any new money available to trusted private conservation groups such as Ducks Unlimited. "There are hundreds of organizations protecting wildlife, more than there are endangered species," Jones says. "That's a great way to direct resources."

In fact, Anderson hints strongly that such groups will be invited to play a key role under his new approach. Instead of relying on a government agency to do out incentive payments for habitat conservation, private organizations could be asked to manage the money. "It might be funded by programs where you have administration through...and I hesitate to use the name of any particular organization—but something like Ducks Unlimited," Anderson says. He added, though, that farmers and resource companies should not look for windfalls. "We do not expect to pay people to do normal good behaviour. But when someone has a specific and unmet need, which arises solely by reason of the need to protect habitat for certain species, then

they should not bear the burden alone."

Ironically, Anderson's biggest issue in winning support for his bill could be the contrast with the unpopular previous attempt. Shared opposition to that 1996 bill helped forge unlikely coalitions of industry and environmental groups, including one called the Species at Risk Working Group—with membership ranging from the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association to the Sierra Club of Canada. Among other objections, that group's members shared a fear that MacIntosh's bill would lead to pitched court battles by allowing individuals to launch lawsuits against land users they accused of putting species at risk. Anderson flatly rejects that approach—aggregating with critics that it would have imposed the litigious, confrontational approach to endangered-species protection of the United States. "I'm not going to have citizen civil suits," he says.

Anderson has been conducting a diplomatic campaign to sooth opposition in advance of publicly outlining the legislation. Even members of Alberta's Land and Resource Partnership, an alliance of staunch opponents of the 1996 bill from the oilpatch and agriculture sectors, have turned cautiously supportive after a recent dinner meeting with him. Yet Anderson, when forced to choose, is likely to champion wildlife over economic interests. After all, the Victoria native is a lifelong environmentalist, who has among his possessions a plush toy Vancouver Island squirrel named Justice. At his count, there were just 55 of the real chocolate-brown mammals left in the wild, along with 27 more in Calgary and Toronto zoos. Anderson should know soon after going public whether he has a workable plan for turning his sentimental feeling for creatures clinging to existence into a law that gives them a fighting chance. ■

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# Punishment gets a scolding

But anti-spank crusaders collide with critics

By Patricia Chisholm

**Child needs to put on an avowal.** Hoshing, slapping child whines to put on snowsuit. After 10 or 15 minutes of this all-too-common scenario, many frustrated parents might resort to a smack on the butt. But last week, a children's rights group asked an Ontario Superior Court judge to outlaw spanking. The Canadian Foundation for Children, Youth & the Law maintains that Section 43 of the Criminal Code, which permits "reasonable" force when disciplining a child, violates children's constitutional rights.

The federal government, the Canadian Teachers Federation and Focus on the Family, a Vancouver-based family rights group, are some of the organizations fighting the application, claiming that repealing the section—the case is likely to go to the Supreme Court of Canada—will criminalize even mild physical discipline. And that is an idea that upon many parents.

"It should only be used as a last resort, but I would have to be in a situation where I didn't have that to fall back on," says Sue Stagg, a mother of two boys, ages 7 and 5, in Surrey, B.C.

The spanking question usually arises once infarce has morphed into that mixture of sarcasm, recalcitrance and downright obnoxiousness known as a toddler. Two decades ago, there was very little debate about the nature of the occa-

sional smack, often applied to a bare bottom, was considered a parenting right, if not an obligation, when it came to maintaining family order. But changing social attitudes, partly backed up by new research, have ignited a felonious argument over the issue. Proponents say physical punishment, used as a last resort by loving parents, can help raise responsible children. The anti-spankers, however, believe that the century-old Criminal Code section provides a dangerous shield for those who use force against youngsters. "I believe it [repeal of the section] is the right thing to do," says Paul Schibis, the Toronto lawyer who is arguing for the Foundation on a *pro bono* basis.

"The section says that it's right to hit the kids, for their own good. And that's wrong."

Others, though, say the issue is not that simple. While they may not support physical punishment, they advise against repealing the section. Peter Narins, the Calgary pediatrician who is the principal author of the Canadian Pediatric Society's principles on disciplining children, says the Society does not recommend spanking. He points out, however, that research has yet to conclude that occasional light spanking of young children does lasting harm. (There is conclusive evidence, however, that hitting children 14 or older leads to more violence by those children.) Banishing the practice completely could lead to more verbal and emotional abuse by frustrated parents, he says. "But I think there are better ways to discipline a child, like time-outs and consequences," he adds. "If you are speaking



The ban of discipline: a not-so-simple issue

once a day, you have a big problem."

Canadian teachers are even more strongly opposed to doing away with Section 43. There are simply too many occasions, says Teachers' Federation spokesman Harvey Weiser, where teachers must either get between bickering students or are compelled to reason with unruly students. "We are opposed to corporal punishment and that works for the vast majority of kids," Weiser says. "But there are some who require physical intervention."

This is a debate that is not likely to be resolved anytime soon. While there is some persuasive research linking spanking and later emotional and intellectual problems for children, critics say those studies are flawed and that further research is required. Yet even the views of spankers are shifting. Stagg, for one, says parents should carefully assess their children before deciding to spank—it is simply not appropriate for some kids, she says. And she gives her own boys three warnings before resorting to physical punishment. Clearly, the days are gone when a belt across the back, or a slap to the head might be considered "reasonable." And those fundamental shifts in attitude may ultimately do more than any amendment of the law to apod the rod and span the child. ■

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AIR CANADA

**A case of Péquiste piqûre**

Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard and his predecessor, Jacques Parizeau, got together in a Montreal car to jointly sue investment counselor Richard Lafferty for libel. The target of their piqûre: a critique in a 1993 Lafferty newsletter, distributed to 275 subscribers and later picked up in the daily press, which described their appeal to Quebec nationalism as demagogic—"no different from what Hitler did." That, said the Parti Québécois subcommittee, exceeded the bounds of acceptable discourse in a democracy. Testified Bouchard: "It this the price to pay to be in politics?"

**New moves to curb kids**

The Ontario legislature's Conservative majority voted to endow "squeezed kids," children who walk barefoot shields for loose change, under a so-called Safe Streets law that also prohibits "aggressive panhandling." The bill provides for penalties from a minimum \$500 for a first offence to \$1,000 and/or six months in jail for a repeat conviction. The Liberals, led on the same day by opposition Conservative MLA Lyle Lokay, introduced a private member's bill empowering municipalities to levy \$100 fines for young people under 19 years old caught smoking in public.

**A blitz against blaze makers**

Winning poker on Dec. 6 arrested two girls, aged 12 and 14, who were charged with setting fire to the previous three months. In all, during the six weeks after the fires set up a special anti-smash team on Oct. 25 to combat an epidemic of fires in the city, police arrested more than 20 dozen people—mostly young teenagers—in connection with some of the more than 200 fires believed to have been deliberately set during the same period.

**Alleged mobsters arrested**

A force of more than 300 federal, provincial and city police rounded up 38 Russians and other east European immigrants in predawn raids on Dec. 9 in and around Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Windsor, Ont.—and sought 17 others—in most-strenuous charges, from bank-card fraud to drug dealing.

**Sleepless in the House of Commons**

It took a record 43 hours and 471 votes, but the controversial Meech Lake constitutional treaty passed second reading despite a concerted attack from the opposition Reform party. The treaty gives the northern B.C. natives \$263 million, 2,019 square kilometers and self-government rights that Reform, as well as the B.C. opposition Liberal party, complain go beyond those of other Canadians.

**Just desserts, finally**

More than 5½ years after a killing that shocked the nation, and following nearly eight months of trial and six days of jury deliberation, two men were convicted in connection with the death of Georgia (IVD) Lemmons, 23, who was shot during a botched robbery of the trendy Just Desserts cafe in Toronto. Lawrence Brown, 36, who confounded his own defense, was sentenced of first-degree murder and immediately given a life sentence with no chance of parole for 25 years. Gary Francis, 28, was convicted of

murder and robbery and was to be sentenced that week. A third accused, O'Neill Grant, 27, was acquitted of manslaughter and robbery.

All three are black—the victim was white—and originally came from Jamaica, spurring a national debate over immigration policies and leading to defense charges of racism. During the trial, Brown frequently buffed results and obscenities at Justice Brian Tafford.

The crucial evidence linking the accused to the killing was a grainy videotape, whose reliability was vehemently disputed.

**Bullying over bilingualism?**

The federal and Ontario governments accused each other of bullying tactics after the province introduced a bill permitting an expanded Ottawa-area majority to offer managerial services in English only. The move followed an alliance by the Ontario Conservatives to reduce services at Ottawa's French-language Mount Royal Hospital and a decision to close francophone Alfred Agnew Agricultural College east of the capital. In an oft-repeated Quebec national assembly unanimously supported the fiscal position, calling for services to be provided in both languages.

# Putting Mars on Hold

The Polar Lander's failure shocks NASA

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

**No one knows exactly** what the surface of Mars is like, but Robert Zubrin has a pretty good idea. At least some of it, he says, is much like a frozen, god-forsaken corner of the Canadian Arctic called Haughton Crater. The terrain is similar—rough-tarred rock on the floor of a crater 16 km across. The temperature is about the same as that of the Red Planet at its warmest. Perfect for Zubrin and other Mars enthusiasts to build a prototype space station that they hope will point the way to eventual human habitation of Earth's closest planetary neighbor. "It's a simulation of Mars on Earth," says Zubrin. "It's the closest we've got."

Last week was a decidedly bad one for the so-called Mars community—both the scientists and engineers of the official U.S. space program and unofficial boozehounds like Zubrin, president of an independent network called the Mars Society. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was forced to conclude that it had lost the \$246-million Mars Polar Lander when the craft failed to communicate with Earth after a 11-month, 756-million-km journey to the planet's polar cap. It was the second loss of a U.S. Mars probe in just 2½ months. (The \$185-million Mars Climate Orbiter crashed into the planet on Sept. 23.) Together they were a devastating blow to the U.S. Mars pro-



*How the craft should have landed on Mars, as Arctic alternative.*

## The jinxed planet

In 29 missions since 1961, 13 Soviet and four American spacecraft have failed to orbit or land on Mars as planned. The U.S. failure:

**Mars 2, 1964:** A protective shield failed to eject properly, preventing the craft from reaching its planned orbit around Mars.

**Mars 8, 1971:** Soon after launch its rocket exploded out of control and into the Atlantic Ocean.

**Mars Observer, 1993:** NASA lost contact with the \$1-billion craft three days before it was set to orbit.

**Mars Climate Orbiter, September, 1999:** Investigators believe a mix-up between metric and imperial measurements sent the \$185-million craft crashing to the Mars surface.

is part of rock-and-future. Zubrin, an engineer based near Denver, Colo., and author of *The Case for Mars*, argues that it could be done in about 10 years at a cost of some \$6 billion—a fraction of the preliminary \$664 billion that NASA estimated a decade ago. Technology experts agree, is not the main obstacle.

"We're much better prepared to go to Mars than we were to send men to the moon when that project was launched in 1962," says Zubrin. "It's a political issue. Do we have the collective will to do it?"

So far the answer has been no. After the extraordinary commitment of money and political will that went into the Apollo moon landings from 1969 to 1972, the United States reversed direction, dedicating itself to proving that man can



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## World

named travel deeper into space. In 1976 it landed two uncrewed Viking craft on Mars, and most scientists concluded from that data that the Red Planet was lifeless. More recently, however, new research has again raised the tantalizing possibility that Mars may have housed some form of life. In 1996, scientists analyzed a chunk of Martian rock known as ALH84001 that crashed into Antarctica 11,000 years ago—and determined that it contained microscopic fossils and other signs of life. Other experts dispute that claim, but it presented new excitement about exploring the planet. That was further fueled by the successful 1997 landing of the Pathfinder mission, which sent a robot called Sojourner roving the Martian surface and snapping thousands of captivating images.

The Polar Lander was designed to set fire to signs that Mars may contain enough water to harbour some form of life. Scientists believe the planet had liquid water billions of years ago—enough to carve the deep canyons that mark its surface. Another U.S. spacecraft, the Mars Orbital Surveyor, is circling the planet and capturing images of ancient structures and a vast long-ago sea, that appeared half way in the journal Science. The water apparently evaporated long ago, but the Polar Lander was designed to take samples of the Martian soil, analyze them, and beam back in findings. NASA had hoped to find whether water remains in some form—an indication that life there might be possible.

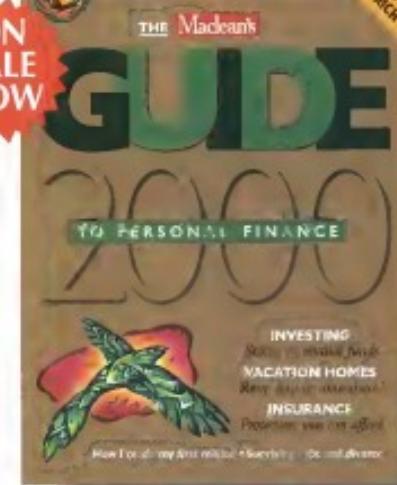
The Polar Lander was scheduled to set down on the Marsian equivalent of Antarctica on Dec. 3 and send back a signal that it had landed. Instead, engineers at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., heard nothing else, and for the next several days. Finally they concluded that the craft had either crashed into the planet or was malfunctioning. It was a bitter blow, one that space experts say calls into question NASA's dismissive recent cost-cutting—in so-called "faster, better, cheaper" approach.

Both the Mars Climate Orbiter and

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the Polar Lander went bust for about the price of a major Hollywood movie—roughly half the cost of previous Mars missions. Independent experts say support teams and systems designed to weed out errors have been severely reduced. "We're not spending enough to meet the goals," says John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. "We were over the point where costs can be cut without putting the science at risk." The most striking example was the loss of the Mars Climate Orbiter because of an elementary error confusing metric and imperial measurement. NASA investigators concluded that the underlying problem was not that embarrassing mistake, but the fact that it was not detected in time by overworked, undertrained technicians.

The losses prompted NASA to question its schedule for Mars missions. It had planned to launch two missions in 2001, then another one in 2003 that would collect surface samples and put them into orbit. These samples would be retrieved by another mission in 2005, and returned to Earth by 2010. Now all that is in doubt as officials rethink their strategy for exploring other planets. To make matters worse, it comes at a time when NASA's other programs are stumbling—with the shuttle fleet grounded, repeated delays in building the space station, and the Hubble Space Telescope out of commission.

Meanwhile, though, Zehnert's society will go ahead with building what it calls the *Mars Arctic Research Station* on Devon Island. They will build the structure alongside 21 scientists from NASA's own Mars Project—most of whom are members of the Mars Society themselves. Then, they will gather in Toronto in August for their third convention, an annual gathering of Mars enthusiasts. NASA's current woes, says Zehnert, will not deter them. "There's no doubt we'll get to Mars," he says. "If we don't, we're not the same species that explored the whole world and went to the moon." ■

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Andrew Phillips

# America's bitter pills

**After Harry and Louise**, meet Flo. Harry and Louise, you may remember, were fictional creation of the U.S. health insurance industry: a sympathetic couple who starred in one of the most devastatingly effective political ads ever. As Bill Clinton was presenting his ambitious 1994 health-care plan, Harry and Louise were all over CNN, complaining that it was just a takeover bid by the kind of government bureaucracy Americans love to hate. It worked: the plan died, and for five years gantry politicians opted instead for health care over the number of Americans without insurance, soared to a scandalous 44 million.

Now comes Flo, an equally familiar senior citizen who pushes the same buttons by complaining in a new ad about "big government in my medicine cabinet." Flo's puppet masters are from the U.S. drug industry, which needs the same kind of thrust the insatiable people stampede out five years ago. For the first time since then, leading politicians such as Bill Bradley are actually putting health care at the top of their agenda, trying to suggest that the richest country in the world at the height of its present prosperity might actually extend the benefits of its marvelous medical system to all its citizens.

The cutting edge of the debate is what to do about the high cost of prescription drugs in the United States—a debate in which Canada once again has a walk-on part.

That's because prescription drugs are so much cheaper just across the border from the United States—across either border, in fact. U.S. media outlets are full of reports about Americans, including seniors, who bypass their own pharmacists just inside Canada and Mexico to load up on popular drugs at a fraction of the cost they pay at home. Pfizer, the best-selling prescription medicine for heartburn and ulcers, goes for \$4.88 (Canadian) a pill in the United States, where it's made, compared to just \$2.17 in Canada—and \$1.46 in Mexico. (It's the same for the 10 most popular drugs used by seniors; one survey shows they're *all* per our cheaper in Canada.)

That's because the United States is the only developed country that doesn't control the price of prescription drugs. In Canada, the obscure Patented Medicine Prices Review Board generally keeps costs lower than fees alone among

median of seven other industrial countries, saving Canadians \$2.2 billion a year off what they would pay for the same drugs in the United States. No wonder pressure is building among Americans to do something about it, and no wonder politicians are prepared to meet their complaints.

Flo is lone in Canada, who argues that no American should "be forced to get on the bus to Canada." Al Gore, his vice-president and would-be successor, staged a campaign event at a pharmacy to denounce the indignity of the border bus trip Clinton wants to extend Medicare coverage for those 65 and over to prescription drugs. Two-thirds already have drug coverage, but it's a carryover relic because seniors are among the best-organized voting bloc. It does nothing, however, for the people most in need of help—those with no health insurance at all, including an astounding 11 million U.S. children.

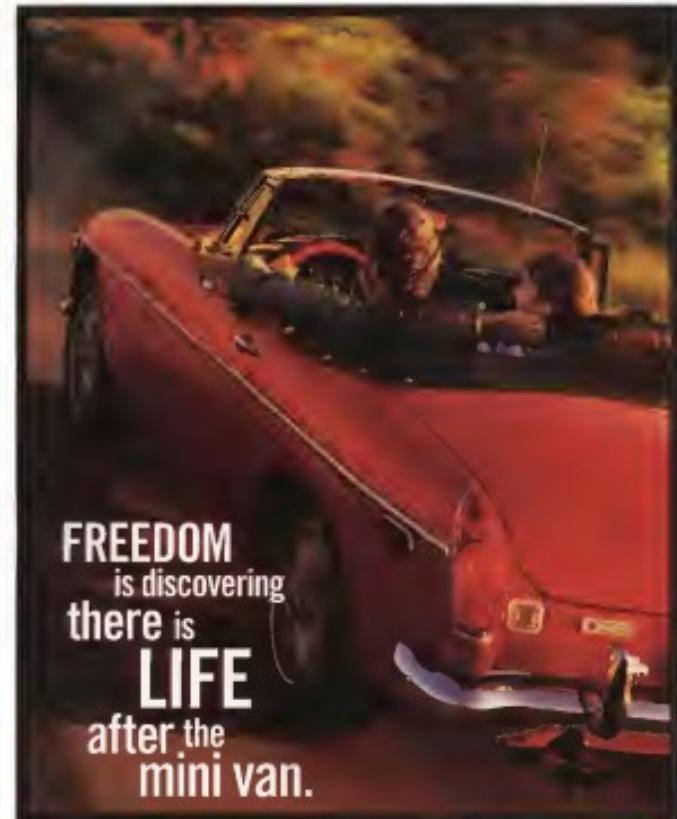
**Canadians love to gloat about inequality in the U.S. health system, but that one should give them an advantage. U.S. prescription drug prices are indeed high—for a host of reasons. One is the lack of government price controls. Another is that demand is surging for new generations of drugs that are revolutionizing the treatment of disorders like depression, Alzheimer's and allergies. American drug companies also make enormous profits. Fortune magazine estimates the pharmaceutical industry is the most profitable of all based on equity revenue and assets. But they're also the ones that come up with by far the largest number of breakthrough drugs—drugs the rest of the world ends up buying at prices.**

The result is that Canadians, protected by prior controls are effectively being subsidized by American consumers. They pay the bulk of the cost of research, development and production of cutting-edge drugs—plus handsome profits for the companies that come up with them. We buy the same products for about half price.

Alas. Sigh, a health-policy expert at Simon University calls this old system "stealing off" from U.S. consumers to people in other rich countries. Verizon CEO Howard Dean, himself a doctor, sees his citizens crossing the border to save money. "Right now," he says, "somebody's getting a free ride at our expense." In fact, it's somebody in Canada. No wonder drugs are the most big battle in American health care.



Dorothy Carlson of Mesa, Ariz., seeks medication she bought in Mexico cheaper



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### Seattle's top cop quits

Seattle police Chief Norm Stamper is resigning in the wake of the World Trade Organization street protests that devastated his city. Stamper will remain at the helm of the 1,800-member police force until March. Seattle city council is investigating the fierce clashes during demonstrations that briefly halted the four-day conference.

### Croatian president dies

The death of Croatia's virtual dictator, Franjo Tuđman, at 77 from stomach cancer sparked democratic hopes that his replacement would emerge from free elections. Once the youngest general in Yugoslavia's army, the fiery nationalist led his country to independence from the former Yugoslavia in 1991.

### Refugee or hostage?

Eduardo González, the six-year-old Cuban boy rescued from the waters of Miami, is at the centre of a custody dispute between his U.S. relatives, who want him to stay in America, and his father, who wants him to return to Cuba. The boy's mother and stepfather died while the family fled to reach Florida by boat.

### Physicist charged

A former U.S. government physicist at the centre of a China spying scandal was indicted on 53 criminal charges relating to misbranding top-secret nuclear weapons data, but was not charged with spying. Wen Ho Lee, 59, was fired from the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico in March amid allegations that China stole U.S. nuclear secrets. U.S. officials have reportedly admitted they lack evidence. Lee gave material to China.

### A King 'conspiracy'

A Tennessee jury found that the 1968 assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. was the result of a conspiracy, not the actions of a single killer. The verdict came in a wrongful death suit filed by King's family against a former plantation owner who says he was paid to plan the killing, James Earl Ray, who died in 1998, pleaded guilty to King's murder but has recanted.



Rioters in Grozny, a chilling warning to citizens from Russian authorities

## Tightening the Grozny noose

**Russian jets** and helicopter gunships continued their round-the-clock bombardment of Grozny as ground troops closed in for a final attack against rebels holed up in Chechnya's capital. The Russian military, which last week warned inhabitants to leave as "get out or die," promised to allow civilians from the city to leave through its Russian-controlled routes. Russian deputy chief of staff Gen. Valery Manucharov said that his troops would not enter Grozny, which had an estimated 40,000 residents left, until it had been reduced to rubble. Moscow, with wide support from Russia's powerful Orthodox church, regards the war as a retaliation against a string of terrorist bombings in Moscow

and other cities that killed hundreds. But many analysts believe the military is bent on avenging its humiliating defeat by the rebels in 1996.

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev called "the line into potential crisis against humanity." U.S. President Bill Clinton warned the Russian brutal treatment of civilians was expanding. Financial aid from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, visiting a highly supportive Chechnya, rebuffed Clinton, saying "it seems he has forgotten that Russia has a full arsenal of nuclear weapons." Moscow also has plenty of more traditional weapons—a fact those trapped in Grozny are painfully aware of.

## Israel and Syria raise peace hopes

**Euphoria** swept the Middle East as Israel and Syria agreed to meet this week in Washington to begin peace talks. Under the deal, brokered by U.S. President Bill Clinton, Israel's chief negotiator will be Prime Minister Ehud Barak, while Syrian President Hafez Assad chose to send his

foreign minister, Farouk al-Shara. Syria has long demanded the return of the Golan Heights, which Israel captured in the 1967 Six-Day War with its Arab neighbours. Israel wants diplomatic recognition from Syria. If the talks succeed, they may kick-start peace negotiations between Israel and Lebanon. Barak said he hoped "to bring security to Israel through a series of peace agreements with all our neighbours."



Toronto Pearson  
International Airport:  
"very expensive purchase"

[Jon Worth, Tex-based partner company of American Airlines] to make peace. All this comes after a \$300-million stock buyback earlier this year. Macdonald: Who would buy it?

**Pham:** One solution is to allow "Canada-only" charters by which foreign investors could own airlines that would operate only in Canada. That is what is happening in Australia. Or you need someone smart like Gerry Schwartz [CEO of Ovations Corp.], who sees synergies with his other businesses, and thinks he can make money that way.

**Macdonald:** Why is it so hard to make money on airline in Canada?

**Pham:** Canada and Australia have similar problems, which is why the government here is watching events there closely. Both countries have a huge land mass, and not many people. That

is the worst possible combination, because you need big planes to fly great distances, and they burn a great amount of fuel proportionally. That makes costs high and revenue low, because the planes often fly more than half empty.

**Macdonald:** Is there a way to beat that?

**Pham:** You need lots of regional carriers with interlocking schedules that feed off each other's networks to co-ordinate travel. That way, you fly smaller, more fuel-efficient jets, lower costs, and fit airplanes.

**Macdonald:** Are few increases inevitable in a monopoly situation?

**Pham:** You notice Air Canada recently raised ticket prices three per cent last week—but only domestically, where the competition is now dead. That's an example of why they must change their management thinking, or else no people.

The directive is for the government to allow foreign-owned companies to fly domestically, and they have said they will not consider that.

**Macdonald:** And if no nationalist sentiment, why not?

**Pham:** If you allow that, you reopen price wars, which caused the entire mess in the first place. With the monopoly situation Air Canada has, you will get a healthy company. You also get higher prices with that. So pick your poison.

**Macdonald:** What is a likely long-term outcome?

**Pham:** Sorry per cent of travel now goes north-south, where you compete with the American carriers. That figure is steadily increasing. So no matter what the government says, it seems inevitable that we will eventually have within North America a full open-skies agreement, with complete access to markets on both sides of the border. And with international alliances and shared services, things like schedules and ticket prices are interlocked with those of other airlines. No airline is really independent now. People can like or dislike this, but they can't ignore it.

## After the Takeover

An expert outlines the future shape of Canada's airline industry—consumers will not be happy

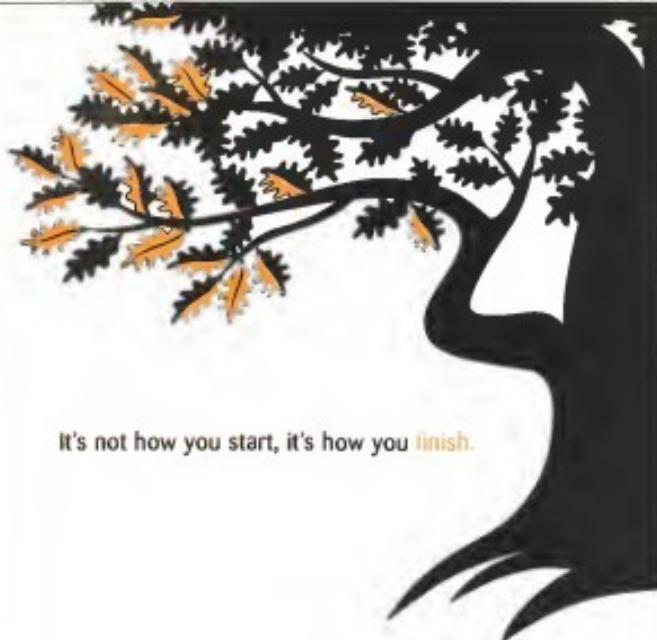
*Last week—pending federal government approval and a shareholders' vote on Dec. 23—Air Canada took control of Canadian Airlines International with a \$52-million offer. At the same time, a House of Commons transport committee warned the new owners strongly that the pace of approval may be steeper regulations governing everything from ticket prices to route schedules. To move the fallout, Macdonald's National Affairs Columnist Anthony Wilson-Smith spoke with Paul Pham, a professor of strategic management at the Schulich School of Business at York University and one of Canada's leading experts on the airline industry.*

**Macdonald:** Transport Minister David Collenette says he will introduce legislation in February citing the grounds by which Air Canada, as a non-monopoly, would operate. Is that appropriate timing?

**Pham:** It is too long, and therefore bad for all involved. It causes investor uncertainty, and paralyzes the decision-making process at a key time. He should have been able to anticipate this outcome earlier.

**Macdonald:** How do you expect Air Canada will manage Canadian affairs if the takeover is approved?

**Pham:** It would make great sense to immediately turn around and act fast. This is a very expensive purchase in addition to the \$92 million Air Canada is paying, it will cost an immediate \$250 to \$300 million to reorganize Canadian. On top of that, these \$100 to \$140 million that must be paid to AMR.



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## 'David vs. Goliath'

A Montrealer wins a suit against a corporate giant

By Brenda Beauregard in Montreal

**A**s André Léotard presents a man visitor to his downtown Montreal home, he is impeccably dressed in a black blazer and pale slacks. But when he warns that his tiny one-room apartment is a mess, he isn't exaggerating. He removes his coat from the floor beside a cardboard box that serves as a night table. The only clear space is a narrow path leading to a cluttered desk. Everything else is a jumble of boxes, legal files and newspapers—all reminders of his incredibly grueling, but ultimately successful seven-year legal battle against RBC Dominion Securities Inc. for breach of contract. Last week, the 53-year-old Léotard received his third and final payment from RBC-DIS in an award totalling \$3 million. "Over the last three weeks or so," the once successful businessman says, laugh-

ing, "I've had the greater social life I've had in the last eight years."

Such are the spoils of what Léotard's Web site calls his "David vs. Goliath" victory over a corporate giant. After all, Dominion Securities is one of Canada's leading brokerage firms and a subsidiary of the largest bank, the Royal Bank of Canada. Léotard was just a small entrepreneur in 1992 when the brokerage did not consider an immigrant investor program that he had helped set up—and his subsequent legal battles forced him to living hand-to-mouth in a car. Quebec Superior Court judge Nicole Mironne easily saw the fight as uneven. In her Nov. 11 ruling, she accused RBC-DIS of treating Léotard with contempt and of using "bullying tactics." The courtiness in this deliberate sounding to wear out, if not exhaust, the plaintiff in an attempt to escape its responsibility,

*Léotard at home. The happy life resumed. At last I can turn the page.*

she wrote. In an unusual step, the judge ordered RBC-DIS to pay Léotard \$1 million immediately, regardless of whether they planned to appeal.

The brokerage did not appeal, ultimately paying Léotard the \$3 million in lost incomes, other damages and interest. Jean-Pierre De Montigny, managing director at RBC-DIS, told *Maclean's* that one problem contributing to delays in the case was the fact that most of the people involved no longer worked for the firm. "We're not happy that it took so long, which is also one of the reasons we're not appealing," he added. Still, he objects to the firm being portrayed as a callous giant. "I don't know who is the David and who is the Goliath here," says De Montigny. "I mean, he showed up with 35 boxes of documents at the court and he has a beautiful Web site. So, he's well organized."

De Montigny also argues that RBC-DIS offered to settle several times, but Léotard refused. He had, in fact, sought \$2.5 million plus interest. And he lost a parallel libel suit and had to pay RBC-DIS \$25,000 for defamatory remarks he wrote in a 1993 letter to more than 75 securities regulators and other groups about the dispute. Still, Léotard is encouraged by a sense of sweet vindication with his victory over RBC-DIS. "They just didn't know who they were hanging onto."

Léotard turned out to be a notorious opponent. A national vice-president of the Liberal Party of Canada from 1984 to 1990, Léotard reached an oral agreement in April 1990 with the Montreal brokerage firm McNeil Murdoch Inc. to set up an immigrant investor program to help Asian capital to Quebec companies. They struck a five-year deal, which was eventually put in writing in September, 1991. But 12 days later, RBC-DIS announced plans to acquire McNeil Murdoch—a move that left Léotard in limbo. He pressed RBC-DIS about its intentions, but the firm took until February 1992 to announce what it would not continue the program. (Those delays, noted Montreal, caused Léotard to lose

he North American light vehicle market is now in its eighth year of recovery and by most analysts' accounts it should stay healthy for at least three, and probably five, years. However, the market has recovered differently during this cycle than it has from other post-war downturns. Instead of a sharp upturn, sales have shown a slow, stable recovery. This may turn out to be a positive for the automobile sector since it could mean eight to 10 years of stability instead of three to five years of rapid growth followed by a similar period of radical decline.

In the midst of this positive outlook for sales is one possible problem area—the outlook for minivan sales. Minivans have led light-truck growth over the last decade. However, for the first time since their introduction in 1983-1984, minivans are facing a serious challenge from other products such as sport utility vehicles.

The future of the minivan is important to Canada. A quarter of our automotive production is in these vehicles. More critical is its significance for Daimler Chrysler which has dominated the minivan market since its inception.

Minivans have been around for a long time, but they were not originally designed for the mass market. Most consumers remember the Volkswagen bus popularized during the 1970s by the hippie generation. In 1983, Daimler

Chrysler correctly interpreted that the baby boomers' automotive needs were not well served by existing vehicles and launched the first modern-day compact van; or, as it has come to be called, the minivan. The original concept was to develop a van small enough for garages and customer friendly, especially for women buyers.

The typical minivan owner is a boomer with two or three children, a dog, a cottage and a lot of responsibilities to drive to each day. Hockey, soccer, ball and gymnastics are all team activities and the boomers' kids expect to be driven to practices and competitions. Much of the responsibility for this falls on mothers' shoulders, so minivans had to be designed to make them easy for women to get in and out of, drive and park.

Minivans are also classified as light trucks and can therefore avoid much of the very restrictive and very costly regulation imposed on passenger cars. They are therefore cheaper to manufacturers. That translates into an affordable product, ideally targeted to the consumer's needs.

The minivan was perfect for the 1980s and 1990s. During their first year, minivan sales in North America jumped to more than 250,000 units and continued to rise unabated by downturns and difficult economic times. Sales grew until 1994 when they accounted for nine per cent of total light vehicle sales or about 1.5 million units in North

America. Interestingly, in Canada, minivan owners for about 16 per cent of the market while in the United States they account for only about eight per cent.

This is indicative of the key difference between the American and Canadian automotive consumer. American consumers have been depicted as having less affinity with their vehicles. They believe they have a God-given right to own a vehicle, indeed to own the largest, most fully loaded vehicle possible. They also have the right to drive their vehicle where they want, as much as they want and whenever they want. Fully two thirds of the US market is inclined to large vehicles.

In Canada, consumers tend to view their vehicles as a necessary evil, a means of transportation, a way to get from point A to point B. Two thirds of the vehicles Canadians drive are dedicated to smaller vehicles. Minivans are the perfect vehicle for Canadians – low cost, practical, utilitarian. This is why they account for over twice the market share in Canada than in the United States.

Despite having a healthy portion of the light vehicle market, minivan sales were stable over the last few years at between 1.4 and 1.5 million units. More importantly, minivans' share of the market has shown no growth for about six years.

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This has resulted in a furious debate over the future of the minivan market. The group that sees the demise of this segment generally points to changing consumer demographics, the rise of sport utility vehicles and falling resale values. There is no doubt that the demographics in the market have changed.

The boomers who bought minivans are now 10 years older or more and, in addition, many have become empty-nesters as their children have grown up and left home. They bought their first minivan in the mid-1990s, their second in the early '90s and their third in the mid-'90s. They may not want a fourth, especially since sport utility vehicles offer many of the same attributes but with every different image. That is the next target for sport utility sellers is current minivan owners. Moreover, since so many minivans were sold over the last three to five years, there is now a glut of used minivans in the market, a factor which is depressing used minivan prices. This is crucial because low leasing rates are dependent on strong prices in the used vehicle market. Without high resale values, sales are difficult to maintain.

Those who are positive about the outlook for minivans point to the amount of new product entering the market, some repositioning of the vehicle to make it attractive to

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Front wheel drive	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
4-wheel drive	Optional	Optional	Optional	Optional
Passenger side air bag	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
Driver side air bag	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
Anti-lock brakes	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
Front disc brakes	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
Rear drum brakes	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard

other demographic groups and lower prices compared with sport utility vehicles. Up until a few years ago Daimler-Chrysler, followed by Ford, and to a degree GM, were the only companies with highly successful high-volume products in this segment. Now Toyota and Honda also have mainstream and well-developed minivans in the market. Historically new product introductions have resulted in higher sales. This should be positive for the entire minivan segment.

Led by Daimler-Chrysler and Honda, the minivan product is also being repositioned in more upscale with luxury features. Most companies have also introduced a driver's side sliding door. Daimler-Chrysler is even parking their vehicles to older, retired consumers.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for continued healthy sales is price. It is difficult to put a full-size sport utility in your driveway for less than \$14,000. It is still possible to buy a minivan for \$15,000. That huge price differential is a very powerful marketing tool.

All things considered, I am more positive about the minivan than negative, and believe the vehicle companies have the power, through the use of incentives and pricing mechanisms, to ensure that minivans will be with us for a long time yet.

## Minivan Segment - Share of the Market

Year	Canada	United States	North America Units
	1.9%	1.7%	264,206
1984	3.6%	2.0%	515,616
1985	5.0%	4.0%	699,062
1986	5.7%	4.8%	792,028
1987	6.3%	5.4%	931,724
1988	7.3%	5.7%	949,375
1989	8.7%	6.7%	1,038,103
1990	9.8%	7.1%	1,002,616
1991	12.0%	7.0%	1,122,462
1992	14.1%	8.2%	1,303,364
1993	14.9%	8.4%	1,447,401
1994	15.1%	8.5%	1,457,022
1995	16.2%	8.3%	1,424,851
1996	16.7%	8.1%	1,402,215
1997	16.4%	7.9%	1,448,785
1998	16.8%	8.0%	1,290,000



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## Business

credibility. After trying to negotiate a buyout with RBC-DS, he fled his house in December that year.

His life had already begun to unravel. In the fall of 1991, with the investor program up in the air and no revenue coming in, Luizone started showing up at his house in the tiny Town of Mount Royal. Soon after, he and his wife separated. "When I started this lawsuit I was already broke," says Luizone, who says he had no choice but to seek full-time on the case to avoid even higher legal fees. In 1993, he ended up living out of his law office for two weeks before relinquishing it because of unpaid bills. Luizone then spent a few nights at a homeless shelter, not far from the soup kitchen where he used to serve food. Finally, his wife, Denise Luizone, provided him with a small apartment, and other affluent friends lent him money for his legal affairs. "Accepting charity was very difficult," he says, his eyes welling with tears. "I didn't even have suitable clothing to go to the trial. It was my 77-year-old mother who dressed me."

Enraged by his money woes, Luizone withdrew from friends. Camille Villemure was one of the few who saw Luizone's reaction. "He had a lot of fatigue, worry and stress," says the Hull, Que., businessman who left his long-time friend hundreds of thousands of dollars. Adele Luizone's lawyer, Rachael Meagan, "He actually worked—it's not exaggerating—seven days a week for six and a half years." Was it worth it? "The jury is still out," Luizone says. "Tim happy it's resolved. At last I can turn the page." He is in talks with a filmmaker about turning his story into a TV mini-series, and plans to pursue a career in business. He booked a Caribbean holiday for this week and received a room at Montreal's exclusive Saint-Jacques Club for a victory bash in January. But he says his first task is to pay his \$1.3 million in debts. He may also cope with his new wealth. "After you've stopped living and only existed for the last eight years," says Luizone, "that will probably be the most difficult adjustment." ■

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The percentage of Canadians who plan to contribute to an RRSP

Year	Percentage
1991	44%
1992	46%
1993	48%
1994	50%
1995	52%
1996	54%
1997	56%
1998	58%
1999	60%

Source: RBC Investor Services

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## Not so tip-top shape

Toronto-based Dylex Ltd., which operates Tip Top Takers, RWB's Thrifty, Fairway, Bazaar and Labels stores across Canada, has an 848-unit real estate up for sale. The firm resulted in transactions after Dylex shares hit a 52-week low of \$1.75. In 1997, Dylex traded in the \$9 range. Dylex stock rallied as a result, closing the week at \$2.05.

## Ending Inco's lockout

Employment Inco Ltd. reached a truce in Thompson, Man., voted 66 per cent in favour of a three-year contract offer. The deal includes a five-per-cent wage increase, a \$1,000 signing bonus and a 13-per-cent pension hike. Inco had locked out 1,100 workers for 12 weeks. Sudbury, Ont., miners at Inco and Falconbridge Ltd. are expected to use the deal as the basis for talks next summer.

## Lots of fast food

Toronto-based Scott Restaurants Inc., owned by John Baive Jr., and Texas Global Restaurants Inc. of Louisville, Ky., struck a deal to merge their 639 Canadian outlets of KFC, Taco Bell and Pizza Hut. Baive, who will head the new operation, becomes Canada's largest fast-food operator.

## Milk and money

Dairyland Foods of Burnaby, B.C., plans to give the Canadian subsidiary of Italian food giant Parmalat Fraternali SpA an equity stake. The new company will account for almost half of Canada's production of milk and have annual sales of more than \$1 billion. Federal competition regulators are to review the deal. Dairyland sells under the Dairyland and Bear labels, while Parmalat brands include Bearline and Lazzaroni.

## Just say no to monetary union

Canada is better off to maintain a flexible exchange rate against the U.S. dollar, says a C.D. Howe Institute study. Recent critics have called for a fixed rate as a prelude to establishing a North American monetary union. The study, however, says several countries with fixed rates have suffered recessions since 1997, while Canada's economy continues to grow with low inflation.

## A sell-off at TransCanada

In a move that stunned many in the investment community, TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. announced a \$3-billion asset sell-off, and a sharp cut in its dividend. The Calgary-based energy giant also expects to shed 1,500 of its 4,600 jobs in a cleanup non-core sector to focus on natural gas transmission, power generation and marketing in Canada and the northern United States. The company plans to get rid of the so-called midstream business of processing natural gas and gas liquids. Chief executive Doug Baldwin said he expects many employees with the divisions being sold to find work with the new owners. TransCanada will use the money it raises to repay debt and improve its balance sheet. TransCanada

has already cut 600 jobs and sold off \$1 billion in assets as it restructures following its 1998 merger with rival Novus Corp. That \$14-billion deal was one of the largest in Canadian history. Investors reacted strongly to the latest move, especially to the announcement that the dividend will drop to 80 cents per share from \$1.12. In heavy trading, TransCanada stock fell \$3.40 cents to close the week at \$12.10.

## The CPP becomes a player in stocks

Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin and his provincial counterparts agreed to allow the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board to actively invest in the stock market. Previously, the CPP was restricted to investments in 20-year provincial bonds, which have had below-market returns. In 2000, the CPP is expected to invest about \$5 billion in illiquid assets, a figure which could climb as high as \$30 billion by 2007. The decision to invest in the stock market is aimed at increasing returns on the CPP to help pay for the flood of baby boomers who are expected to begin retiring in 2011.

## Financial Outlook

With RRSP season just about to start, Canadians are planning to invest in record numbers. The Royal Bank's ninth annual survey found

that 52 per cent will put money into their registered retirement savings plan—up from 44 per cent in the 1998 tax year. Ontario leads the way with 59 per cent planning to invest in plans, while the Atlantic provinces are projected to have the lowest contribution rate, at 41 per cent. Canadians will contribute \$5,051 on average to their RRSPs—up nearly 20 per cent from last year—with baby boomers, university graduates and high-income earners leading the way. As for those who will not be contributing to the savings plan—40 per cent say they do not have enough money.



Ross Laver

## Behind the Linux lunacy

**A recently as** a couple of years ago, not one investor in 100 had ever heard of the Linux operating system. Now, in the wake of one of the strangest weeks in stock market history, millions of people are scrambling to throw money at Linux, though probably fewer than one in 100 of them has seen or used it. For that matter, many investors can't even pronounce it correctly (it rhymes with *cacao*).

A stock market frenzy by definition is an irrational thing, so perhaps it's a waste of time to try to understand what's going on and to relate it to the real world. But let's try anyway, bearing in mind that money for the time being, is beside the point when evaluating the shares of Linux companies.

First, a little background: Linux is an operating system that was started in 1991 by a university student in Finland named Linus Torvalds. It's similar to older OS called Unix, which means it is stable and highly versatile although not particularly easy to use unless you happen to have geekish tendencies. It also runs, instead of trying to profit from its creation, Torvalds gave it away over the Internet, on condition that anyone who altered or improved it agreed to share those changes with other users. That, more than anything, is what distinguishes Linux from a proprietary OS such as Microsoft Windows. Microsoft controls the source code to Windows and, to maintain compatibility with other programs, does not allow users to alter it in any way. Linux, on the other hand, is constantly evolving thanks to the volunteer efforts of thousands of programmers around the world.

This is why so many engineers—who are unlikely by nature—love Linux and despise Microsoft. Buying Windows, as one critic put it, is like buying a car whose hood is permanently propped up. If you don't like it, too bad. Now we get to what has become a central article of faith among Linux supporters. Over time, they believe, Linux will continue to get better and will surpass Windows in quality and ease of use. Many would agree that it already has.

If you've come this far, you may be wondering how companies can hope to make big money off free software. They can't, but they can make money building computers designed to run Linux. (This is the strategy pursued by VA Linux Systems Inc. of Sunnyvale, Calif., which went public last week and immediately saw its stock rise 700 per cent, setting a record for the most successful short offering in history.) Alternatively, they can give away the OS but charge for

service, the approach taken by Red Hat Software Inc. of Raleigh, N.C. Or, like Ottawa-based Corel Corp., they can distribute their own, more user-friendly version of the Linux in the hope that users will turn around and buy Corel applications, such as WordPerfect, that are configured to work with it.

The bottom line, however, is that right now nobody—apart from some lucky stock traders—a making serious money from Linux. VA Linux sports a market capitalization of \$12.6 billion, but lost \$2.4 million in its most recent fiscal year. Red Hat is valued at \$29 billion, but lost \$7.7 million in the six months to Aug. 31. Corel's Linux effort are also losing money, although overall the firm is profitable.

So what's going on? In essence, investors are betting that Linux will one day replace Windows as the world's leading OS. If that happens, the thinking goes, companies that have had their focus so far on Linux will actually be worth much more than a puny market cap.

There's only one problem: it's not going to happen, at least not the way investors want. The hundreds of millions of people who use PCs are not crying out for a new OS, and they will resist any effort to get them to switch. That's not just my opinion—people like Bob Young, the Canadian-born co-founder of Red Hat, say exactly the same thing. It's actually a basic principle of high-tech marketing: once a product becomes the industry standard, it almost always resists that position even if competition comes on the scene that are better or offer new features. Why? For the same reason that most car owners choose not to mess around the hood: Not being engineers, they're quite content to live with what there is, rather than yanking out the engine and installing something new that goes a bit faster or gets slightly better fuel mileage.

The real hope for Linux, in other words, lies in the post-PC world, where the transition to new technology—discontinuous innovation, to use the jargon—creates an opening in the market for an OS that is better than anything from Microsoft. At that point, Linux will certainly be a powerful contender. Whether companies like Corel, Red Hat and VA Linux will successfully make the leap so that new mode of computing, however, is anybody's guess. The whole point of discontinuous innovation is that most of the existing players get left in the dust. Red Hat closed last week at \$27.5 (U.S.). I think I'll pass.



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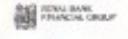
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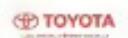
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Allan Fotheringham

## Here's one vote for Winnie

**H**enry R. Luce, who in 1923 at the age of 25 invented the newsmagazine and called it *Time*, would be appalled. Those who have grown rich on his legacy have been running a readers' contest on "Time people of the century."

Among the five categories listed is a "Tory house ad," under Leaders and Revolutionaries, Hitler and Ronald Reagan are resupplied. Under Builders and Titans, mobster Lucky Luciano is also resupplied. *Time* peasants, in the edition dated Dec. 31, 1995, so name the "Person of the century."

A reader? There is no contest. Never has been one.

The name is Winston Spencer Churchill. If he does not get the nod, *Time*, Luce's brilliant invention, will get laughed off the newstands.

Churchill was born in 1874 at Blenheim Palace to Lord Randolph Churchill, third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, and everyone assumed, to be a future prime minister. The young Winston boasted that he had, by age 12, exactly two conversations with his father.

With his American mother, the teenage Winston was in the House of Commons public gallery when his father, smokes with symbols of the brain, were doused in mid-debate and stood there, speechless.

Accused of drinking too much, Churchill once said, "I have taken more out of whisky than whisky has ever taken out of me."

An indifferent student at Harrow, he excelled at Sandhurst Military College.

With the Nile expeditionary force, he fought hand-to-hand against the Dervishes at Omdurman. (He was 24.) In the Boer War, as a reporter he was captured and escaped with a 25-pound price on his head. As he later wrote: "Nothing in life is exhilarating as to be shot at without result."

Churchill never had any real money. Out of power almost all his life, he had to support himself in journalism and on speaking tours of North America. He once arrived in Vancouver, to meet the radio station by young J. V. Clynch, cage young lawyer, later chief justice of the B.C. Supreme Court and then chairman of Macmillan Bloedel.

Winston announced he was headed for the top of Grouse Mountain to paint (not great hobby) the famous Vancouver harbour and would need a bottle of Scotch. As Clynch later told the story, he nervously explained to Churchill about Prohibition. No ticket, no whisky. No speech. The sweating

Clyne, having found a horselegger, walked all the way to the peak and Churchill, hearing the bushes creaking behind him, never raised eyes from patient and said: "Got the whisky?"

The great man, ever impetuous, was taken in hand in the 1930s by Bernard Baruch, the famous Wall Street financial guru, who put him into stocks and bonds. Churchill was a disaster as an investor. After some years, Baruch called him in and said, Sinking in, that his investments had proven a waste. He was just even

When an aide came into the War Cabinet and announced that Italy had joined the Axis with Hitler, Churchill shrugged: "We only fear We had them on our side the last time." One day he was surprised in the Commons assailed by Labour leader Clement Attlee who, finding Winston quickly bunting up, and he didn't know the PM was so modest, "It's not that, Clem," the PM replied. "It's just I thought if you'd see something large and rattling, fiddle you'd want to concentrate."

Every one of his warlike speeches, as a general said, was worth a reprieve. After the grueling of all—"we shall fight on the beaches... we shall fight in the fields and in the areas; we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender"—he said in an aside to the New York Herald Tribune Dan Hewitt Johnson: "And we'll let them shave our heads with bayonets, which is all we have left you."

He forced himself a poker player. After the war in Washington, he asked President Harry Truman to arrange a foursome. After several hands it was clear he was a lousy poker hand. When Churchill excused himself to go to the loo, Truman moved a card seat. "Lose," he ordered the table that included David Brinkley. "This guy stinks the world."

I used to live around the corner from Churchill, in Knightsbridge just off Hyde Park, and on his birthday, we would go around, while the Fleet Street photos gathered, to pay our respects. Bleary-eyed, he would be through the window, Clement at his side.

In 1984 he married Clementine Ogilvy Hozier, daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Blanche Hozier and, as he famously wrote: "We lived happily ever after."

When the wet, weary Labour voters tossed him out, within months of taking the world, he had only this to say: "Trust the people."

Amen! *Time*, get serious.



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